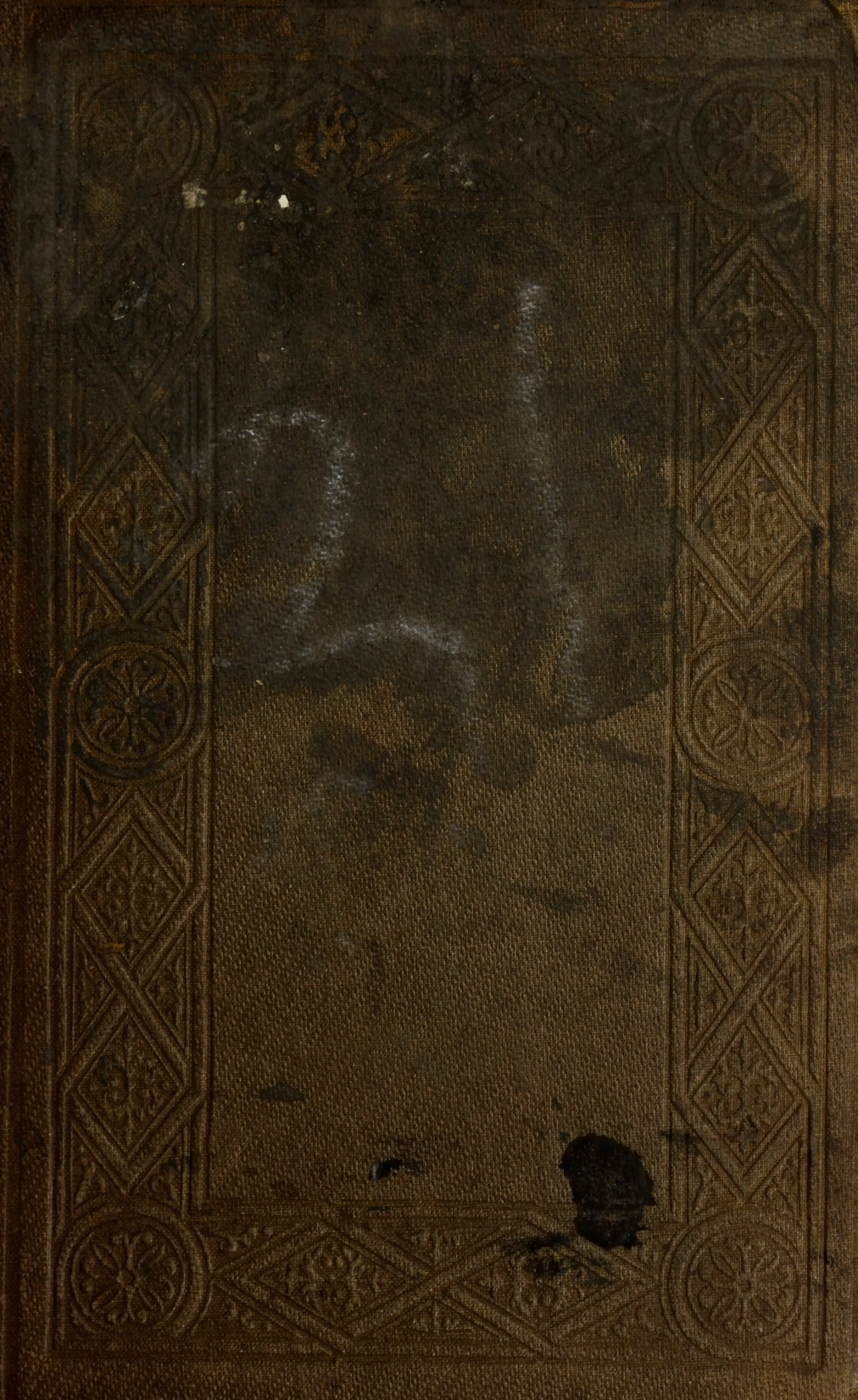




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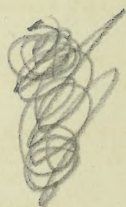
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CHRISTIAN RECORDS:

AN HISTORICAL ENQUIRY

CONCERNING THE

AGE, AUTHORSHIP, AND AUTHENTICITY

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT

BY THE REV. DR GILES,

LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.

LONDON:

WHITTAKER AND CO; AVE MARIA LANE.

1854.

P R E F A C E.

To deny that the truth of Christianity, the facts upon which it is built, and the doctrines which it inculcates, are of the utmost importance to our best interests, and require to be most carefully examined, would better suit the days of intolerance on the one hand and of blind belief on the other, than the times in which we live. For the Christian religion not only sets forth a peculiar morality little insisted upon, though not wholly unknown, among the ancient nations of the world, but propounds also a variety of speculative or scholastic doctrines, scarcely intelligible to the people—or even to a large number of their teachers—as the principles upon which it professes to base its moral code ; and, thirdly, recites a series of historical facts, on which both the moral and doctrinal codes are founded. The points of enquiry, then, to all who would study Christianity with minuteness, are three : 1. Its moral or practical character ; 2. Its doctrines or speculative aspect ; and, 3. Its historical evidence.

It is right to state, lest the general appearance of the present work should lead to a misconception of its nature, that it has nothing to do with the second point to which we have alluded ; and hardly any thing to do with the first, except, indeed, incidentally to extol the beautiful theory of morals which Christianity teaches—but which, sad to say, its professors almost invariably discard, pretending to discover in what they term altered times and circumstances a sufficient reason for rejecting all that noble sacrifice of

1 April 1849 Sp. Cat. ind. v.

self to which the early Christians submitted ; and for adopting in its place such pride and magnificence of manner, that neither they would know their great Master, if he should suddenly return to earth,—or their Master them.

It is only then with the third point above-mentioned—the historical facts of Christianity—that the present work is concerned, and even this field of enquiry has been narrowed within limits which give the work a specific character, not to be misunderstood, except by those who wilfully pervert or carelessly misinterpret the plain and obvious meaning of what they read.

My object in the present work has been to show that the historical books of the New Testament, namely the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, were not in existence before the year 150 of the Christian era. The proofs of this assertion are to be found in the work itself, which is so concisely written, that even a summary of the arguments would occupy half the volume. Those therefore who wish to know the grounds on which so important a conclusion is founded, must obtain the object they are in search of by a patient perusal of the work. Those who are persuaded before-hand that such a conclusion cannot be proved by any arguments whatever, will do well to close the book at once ; for their reluctance to give up cherished opinions cannot be greater than my own unwillingness to give them unnecessary pain. It is no motive of profit or fame, that has led me to devote so many toilsome weeks to the composition of this book. As in the case of my former book of a similar nature “ Hebrew Records,” it is to the select few, and not to the multitude that the work has been addressed, and the sale of the whole limited impression of the work cannot even reimburse the outlay which its publication has occasioned. For my own part, I have derived great consolation by relieving my mind of that sinister view of the Scriptures which, whilst

it believes every word to have been inspired by God, is yet puzzled at every step to get rid of some awkward difficulty in the shape of contradictions that cannot be reconciled, imperfections that would greatly detract from even admitted human compositions, and erroneous principles of morality that would have hardly found a place in the most incomplete systems of the philosophers of Greece and Rome.

For many centuries after the Christian era, the authenticity of the four gospels was taken for granted ; no one was heard either to impugn or to defend it. The objections of the ancient philosophers, Celsus, Porphyry, and others, had been drowned in the tide of orthodox resentment, which flowed in a thousand episcopal channels, or were consumed in the fire to which their writings were consigned ; and when ancient literature was overwhelmed by the irruption of the barbarians, there was no one left to question the articles of faith which the Church put forth as her landmarks, whilst the low ebb of scholarship even in the church itself was such that, if any one had been able to attack, it is certain that no one would have been qualified to defend, the authenticity of the Christian Scriptures, or the justice of the received opinion, which ascribed their authorship to the apostles. The revival of learning in the fifteenth century witnessed also as its result a disposition to examine more carefully into the nature of those books, the sole depositaries of doctrines on which depends the temporal and eternal happiness of Christendom. A few faint signs of life were occasionally given by the spirit of free inquiry, to shew that the idea of private judgment was not yet abandoned and might some day be revived. Still there was a natural unwillingness in the minds of men to encourage a train of argument by which their most important interests were thought to be endangered. But the cause of free inquiry has still progressed, and even in England, a hundred years ago, the labours of Bishop Marsh led that learned divine to

conclusions which had, up to his time, been looked upon as deviating greatly from the true faith, if not actually heretical.

Since the days of Bishop Marsh, little has been done until very lately in England towards the elucidation of this most important question. But the spread of critical intelligence has at last paved the way for upsetting the last weak defences of those who still look upon the four gospels as the undoubted and authentic writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. The most orthodox defenders of the faith find themselves obliged to modify the terms in which the authenticity and inspiration of the four gospels is expressed. There remains little to encounter but the reluctance which is felt to abandon what has hitherto been held by almost the whole Christian world as sacred as the cause of truth itself. But this estimate of the *word*—we speak not of the *spirit* of the scriptures—is unreasonable and cannot be maintained. Nothing is so sacred as truth, nor will even the highest interests of mankind be enhanced or heightened by being placed upon a false or faulty basis. There is now no longer the power even if there be the wish to prevent free inquiry into every question which it is possible to raise on this or any other subject. It cannot be said that the latitude which is now given to individual opinion has been met by apathy on the part of the intelligent public, for all classes show the greatest anxiety to know more on a subject, about which they now see that they have taken too much for granted, under the false impression that they knew all that was to be known.

Neither can it be said that practical morality has suffered in the present day from the less respect shown to dogmas resting upon no demonstration or pretence of demonstration, but hitherto accepted on implicit faith in the authority of the church. Morality, aye Christian morality, is wholly distinct from the question whether our scriptures are human or divine, and whether they are

the writings of Christ's apostles or the productions of a more recent age. Practical morality, which is irrespective of modes of faith, is justly considered, in the present day, as the great object to which our religious feelings should be directed; and it will be best attained, by availing ourselves, successively, of the fresh knowledge and new aids to devotion which God's revelations daily unfold to us, not by slumbering at our posts, as if we had already reached the end of truth, or as if there were nothing in store for us and our descendents through the vista of eternity to come, which demonstration tells us is as endless as that portion of it that has preceded our own existence. If the volume here published, shall promote, in the smallest degree, the feeling that our duties are not stationary, but onward, I shall be pleased to think that my labours have not been in vain. If the conclusions which I have arrived at, are thought to be not logically drawn from the premises which are laid down as their basis, it will be the part of those who hold a different view of the matter, not to abuse what may displease them, but to refute what may be wrong; if any one shall be found to admit the truth of my conclusions, but to question the utility of making them public, I reply that the same truth which has furnished rest to my own mind, may bring repose to others also, and that it is dangerous to conceal the truth on a subject that concerns us all. Lastly, if any one shall complain that the rules of ordinary criticism have here been applied to the New Testament, in the same way as to any other book, I reply that in every other path of life the richest commodities are all meted by the same standard of weight or measure as the meanest; and that, if those principles of literary discrimination, which have been taught to me, as they are still taught to thousands in our universities at so great a public cost, are to be warped or modified before they can be applied to what concerns us most, it is time that the public should know how weak are the bulwarks which they have erected, at so great a cost, between error and truth; and

how futile are the studies on which the wealth of the nation and the energies of its most valued youth are now employed and wasted.

The Epistles and the Revelation are unnoticed in this volume: they belong rather to Philosophy than to History, but I have little doubt that the received opinions about them are erroneous, and shall probably at no distant date record my own theory of their origin in a separate work.

J. A. G. Bampton, Oct. 26, 1853.

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CHRISTIAN RECORDS.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

The early records of the Christian religion, from the nature of the case, bear a strong likeness to those of Judaism : they are, indeed, regarded by all orthodox Christians as a supplement to the more early writings, founded upon the same facts, and developing a scheme of religion which had been rather shadowed out than fully revealed to the Jews in the first ages of the world. This connection between the books of the Old Testament and those of the New is distinct from any connection real or supposed between the two creeds, of which these writings give us the history ; for it is possible to conceive that two modes of faith and worship may have been entirely distinct in their origin, and were afterwards assimilated the one to the other from causes operating extensively among the first followers of those religions in a variety of ways, according to the peculiar circumstances of the case. As regards Christianity and Judaism, it is evident that, though the Jews have disclaimed all connection with Christians, yet the Christians will not consent to give up their connection with the Jews. On the contrary, they maintain that their own faith is derived from Judaism, of which it is a sort of fulfilment ; and they point out

to the incredulous unbelievers, numerous passages, in the Jewish scriptures, foretelling the more enlarged system into which their narrow ritual would be developed. It is this circumstance which makes it so important to examine, carefully and critically, both Christian and Jewish writings, to ascertain their historical character, and to test their authorship, their authenticity, the age in which they were written, and every other point which may serve to throw light on the momentous questions which they involve. If we reflect that the religion of the ancient Jews is known only from the accounts which have come down to us in the Old Testament ; and that almost the only witness of primitive Christianity is the picture of it which the New Testament unfolds, it is clear that all the questions which can arise upon the subject must be settled, almost wholly—for tradition and contemporary history lend little or no additional help—according to the evidence which those two ancient volumes furnish. This course of inquiry may, it is evident, interfere greatly with our preconceived notions of the affinity between the Christian and Jewish religions. For, even if we admit that their historical records bear a striking resemblance, the one to the other, leading to the inference that the religions themselves were analogous, and were from the first intended to be so, yet this conclusion would be greatly shaken, if it could be shewn that those respective records were not compiled until many ages after the beginning of the religious systems which they describe, and it might fairly be asked whether the religions themselves may not have been changed or modified in the course of so long a time. These observations point out the importance of our present work, which is to examine the books of the New Testament, with reference to the age when they were written, the sources from which they were derived, and the authority which they consequently possess, either as descriptive of Christianity in its first stages, or as a rule of conduct which it behoves us to follow in the actual condition of the world. Such an inquiry, in the case of the Old Testament, has led to the conviction that its compilation is to be ascribed to a date later than the Babylonish captivity,

and consequently that it is not to be considered as a contemporary narrative of the events which happened in the times of Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, and others, by whom it is generally supposed to have been written. In the same way, if it were shewn that the several books of the New Testament were not written until later than the events which they record, it would in like manner follow, that their contemporary character would be lost. But here a caution seems necessary, lest men, with that precipitancy which unhappily attends too many of our inquiries after truth, when they find that an extreme opinion cannot be maintained, run into its opposite, like the crew of an ill-ballasted ship who rush from side to side, as their vessel dips, until all are overwhelmed in the storm, which, with prudence, they might have ridden out in safety. To calm the fears of such imprudent enquirers, it may be stated in the outset that the inquiry, which we are about to institute concerning the New Testament, lies within narrow limits; its authorship can in no way be referred to a date later than about two hundred years after the birth of Christ: this circumstance alone takes it entirely out of the class of works, to which the Jewish scriptures must be referred. We read the acts of Moses, his miracles and his legislation, in a book compiled a thousand years after Moses was dead; but we read the acts and miracles of Jesus Christ in a book, which some say is contemporary with its subject, and which all admit to have been written very near to the time of which it treats.

There is another point of difference between the two books of which we are speaking. The Old Testament was written almost before literature existed even in the most polite nations of the world: little or nothing had been written among the Greeks, if we except the ancient writings of Homer, Hesiod, and other heroic poets, when the venerable Pentateuch appeared among the Israelites; but literature had risen to its highest point, and even begun to decay, before the books of the New Testament were written. This fact is at the same time a point of difference and a point of likeness between the two: for whilst on the one hand those who

have descended from an eminence are equally at a distance from its top as those who have not yet mounted, yet, on the other hand, the models of a literature once flourishing were still, we may believe, open to the age which saw the birth of the evangelic narratives, and could hardly fail to give a colouring to those narratives not to be found in the first and ruder, however sublime, essays of the old Hebrew writers. This difference is indeed plainly to be observed in the comparison of the Old and New Testament. Though there are ill-concealed sutures in both, showing, as we shall hereafter point out, their origin, yet these breaks in their style of composition are less apparent in the New Testament than in the Old. This circumstance is of course to be ascribed to the different circumstances, under which each was written. The compilers of the Old Testament, from the age of Ezra downwards, had to deal with old documents of different ages, extending over many hundred years; but those, to whose diligence we owe the preservation of the Christian scriptures, compiled from records which ascended not more than a hundred years, or thereabouts, earlier than their own time; and, it may be remarked, all that they have left us is of a singularly uniform character, evidently the work of one age, and presenting no such varieties of style, as strike us so forcibly in various passages of the Old Testament, where ancient documents, however short, have plainly been inserted. But, that we may not anticipate what must hereafter be brought before our notice in a regular form, let us proceed first to enumerate the several books of which the New Testament is composed, and then, having stated the opinions which generally prevail on the subject of their authorship and various other points concerning them, to examine on what grounds, either of internal or of external contemporary evidence, such opinions may be maintained.

CHAPTER II.

CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT—REPUTED AUTHORS OF THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

“The canon of the New Testament,”—the quotation is from the Introduction to the New Testament, in vol. iii of D’oyly and Mant’s Family Bible—“consists of twenty-seven books, which were written by eight different authors, all of whom were contemporary with our Saviour. These books were written at different times, and at places remote from each other ; and, when the latest of them was published, the Gospel had been preached, and churches founded, in many parts of Asia, Europe, and Africe. Different churches at first received different books, according to their situation and circumstances ; their canons were gradually enlarged, and it was not long, though the precise time is not known, before the same, or very nearly the same, books were acknowledged by the Christians of all countries. These books may be divided into four parts ; namely the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Revelation.”

The idea, which this extract presents, of the assemblage of writings that passes under the name of the New Testament, is that which generally prevails among the people of Christian countries, and can be traced back to the second or third century of our era. An opinion so long prevalent, should ever be treated with the utmost respect and circumspection ; though it must be remarked, at once, that the proposition, above quoted, is of a complex nature, involving several questions, each of which is really distinct, and can only for the purpose of an abstract, be presented to the thoughts in one general assertion, with others that are of a wholly different nature. These questions may be analysed thus,

1. Whether the several books of the New Testament were written by different authors—no matter as to the number, eight or more—or were the production of one and the same writer.

2. Whether these writers, or this writer if only one, were contemporary with our Saviour or not.

3. Whether the several books or divisions of the New Testament were written at different times, and irrespective of one another, or whether they were written at the same time, with a co-operative design,

4. Whether the separate books passed current, in early times, among various classes of Christians, who knew of no other writings than those which they severally possessed.

5. Whether the canons were gradually enlarged; and if so, what was the process, until they reached their final state.

6. How long was it after the occurrence of the events that the final canon of their history was formed.

It is manifest that all these questions are perfectly distinct, and consequently, that the blending of so many subjects into one proposition can only be admitted in a summary or popular view of the whole subject. It is our present purpose to bring together, from various sources, all the original authorities which may enable the reader to answer these questions for himself. And though those who follow us into the depths of so dark an age as the two first centuries of the Christian era, will have frequent cause to lament the fewness of our original documents, on the other hand they must not be surprised if our enquiry should lead us to modify, very considerably, the summary, which the Christian world at large is content to receive respecting the various questions here enumerated.

The names under which the several books of the New Testament are commonly received, are these :

1. Gospel according to St Matthew,
2. Gospel according to St Mark,
3. Gospel according to St Luke,

4. Gospel according to St John,
5. The Acts of the Apostles,
6. St Paul's Epistle to the Romans,
7. — Ist Epistle to the Corinthians,
8. — IInd Epistle to the Corinthians,
9. — Epistle to the Galatians,
10. — ————— Ephesians,
11. — ————— Philippians,
12. — ————— Colossians,
13. — First Epistle to the Thessalonians,
14. — Second Epistle to the Thessalonians,
15. — First Epistle to Timothy,
16. — Second Epistle to Timothy,
17. — Epistle to Titus,
18. — Epistle to Philemon,
19. — Epistle to the Hebrews,
20. The General Epistle of St James,
21. The First General Epistle of St Peter,
22. The Second General Epistle of St Peter,
23. The First General Epistle of St John,
24. The Second General Epistle of St John,
25. The Third General Epistle of St John,
26. The General Epistle of St Jude,
27. The Revelation of St John the Divine.

It is generally believed that these twenty seven books were written by eight different writers, all of whom were contemporary with the events which they relate. The names of the writers are these :

1. Matthew, who is generally believed to have written the Gospel according to St Matthew.
2. Mark,—the Gospel according to St Mark.
3. Luke,—the Gospel according to St Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles.
4. John—the Gospel according to St John, the three General (or Catholic) Epistles of St John, and the Apocalypse or Revelation of St John the Divine.
5. St Paul—the fourteen Epistles which pass under his name.
6. St Peter—the two Epistles that bear his name.
7. St James—the General Epistle of St James.

8. St Jude—the General Epistle of St Jude,

The ascription of the twenty seven books to these writers is supported, in the case of eighteen of them, upon a declaration which they bear upon their face, that they were written by those authors. These are, seventeen of the epistles which bear the superscription of their presumed writers, "Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ," "Peter an apostle," "Jude the servant of Jesus Christ," and the Revelation which begins,

The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass, and he sent it and signified it by his angel unto his servant John &c. ... John to the seven churches which are in Asia &c.

The four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and four of the Epistles are wholly anonymous—they give no direct intimation of their writers, and there is no other foundation for the ascription of them to their received authors than the voice of tradition handed down through several hundred years. This tradition is not strong enough to put the matter wholly out of doubt; for although it mounts far into the early ages of Christianity, it does not mount far enough to support a conclusive inference. We can trace the books of the New Testament, with their attendant traditions, up to a certain point—the second century after Christ; but we cannot trace them farther; there is no evidence that either the Gospel, Acts of the Apostles or the other writings, existed within 100 years of the crucifixion, much less that they were from the first known to be the productions of the writers to whom tradition generally assigns them, and whose names they bear.

This is the true issue between the two theological parties who have written on this subject,—not whether we can trace a long chain of Christian evidence up to a period very near to the times of the Apostles, but whether this chain does not fail us at the very point where all depends upon its strength; for whilst, in judging of a history written many ages after the event, we should pass lightly over many exaggerations, erroneous views, and other

defects, as the accumulations of latter times, yet in examining a history which professes to be contemporaneous or almost contemporaneous with the event, our requirements become necessarily more strict and searching, and if at this early stage of the matter tradition alone is still found to supply the only argument of authorship, it becomes a grave question whether the authenticity of such a history is not to be pronounced doubtful, perhaps to be rejected altogether. In saying this, I do not imply that the facts which such a book relates are to be rejected, but that the book, in which these are found, is no longer to be received as a contemporary history. The facts still remain for consideration, though the book is not in itself a conclusive guarantee for their truth, because the evidence which it affords is proved to be anonymous evidence: we no longer regard it as the writing of one who had witnessed with his own eyes the truth of what he has written. It cannot be denied that such a doubt, about the authorship of any book that enters into the momentous question of religion, is at once a great difficulty in the way of fully testing the doctrines of that particular form of religion and the truth of the facts on which those doctrines rest. The truth of a fact may indeed be established even by a writing whose author is unknown; but in such a case, the fact must bear probability upon its surface, or the arguments which are brought to support it must be proportionably stronger—at all events the world at large will examine them the more rigidly, according as they lead to substantiate facts divergent from the general experience of mankind.

If therefore any one of the separate books of the New Testament comes before us anonymously, we may be allowed—nay, we are bound, to examine it with the most scrupulous accuracy, that, if possible, we may discover who wrote it, as well as when it was written, and what sources of information its writer may have had for knowing that he wrote nothing but the truth. Neither are we debarred or excused from fulfilling this duty by the silent consent of so many centuries, which would seem to infer that the question here agitated has long ago been set at rest.

For this notion of its having been set at rest is erroneous. There is positive proof, in writings of the first ages of Christianity, that the same question, as to the age and authorship of the books of the New Testament, was even then agitated, and if it was then set at rest, this was done, not by a deliberate sentence of the judge, but by burning all the evidence on which the unpalatable side of the controversy was supported. From that time, almost down to the present day, the process has been continued, and often, not only the writings which raised a doubt, but those who produced such writings, have been burned also. Such then having been the state of things, it is no wonder if a question involving such consequences has generally slumbered, or been roused to life only when that love of sifting the truth which is so natural to our species, has prompted some bolder spirit to renew a controversy, that seemed never to have been fully settled. It is, happily, unnecessary in the present day, to abstain from following wherever truth may lead us. On the contrary, it is thought good service to the world to illustrate and define in every possible way, the duties which we owe to the great author of our being, by sounding and probing the foundations upon which those duties rest.



CHAPTER III.

THE NEW TESTAMENT CONSIDERED AS A WHOLE—INTERPOLATIONS IN THE TEXT.

Notwithstanding the observation, so often repeated by biblical critics and commentators, that the books of the New Testament have a separate origin and consequently a separate authority, it must not be forgotten that this view of them is not the primary one, as regards ourselves. It may have applied to the two first centuries, before the Canon was complete, but at present, we know these books, not in their individual, but in their aggregate form,

and according to this view must all our arguments be conducted. It is evident that the New Testament, besides having separately had eight different writers, must also have had a compiler,—an editor or body of editors, to whom we owe the form in which the books now appear. Possibly, the editor, or editors, were content to copy the twenty seven books into one volume, without altering in the slightest degree the text of them. But the same conditions allow us also to suppose that a further editorial process took place, extending to changes more or less extensive, in order to mould separate writings into one harmonious body. It will be replied perhaps to this, that no variation of reading, of any consequence, has been discovered in all the manuscripts of the Sacred Text that have come down to us. Such a reply has often been made, but it is of no weight; for it is not to be expected that important variations of the text would be found in manuscripts so modern as those now remaining. No existing MS. can be traced up as far as the fourth century, and we know for certain that in the time of Eusebius, about A. D. 320, the canon of the New Testament was complete. It is not in the fifteen centuries since Eusebius, but in the three before his time, that we must search for all our evidence as to the text and authenticity of the New Testament canon and the books that it contains. It was manifestly a very early step for the founders of our ecclesiastical system to reduce to uniformity all the copies of those books which they selected to form their canon; this necessity, together with the general tendency of the Christian community to have accurate copies of books which were held in such general estimation, are quite sufficient to account for the trivial variations of reading which are found in the different MSS. of the New Testament now existing. Notwithstanding all this, however, it is well known that the text of our books has been tampered with in certain passages, and interpolations have been made, for sinister purposes, which shew the necessity of our relaxing none of that vigilant criticism by which the whole truth may be ascertained on points so closely affecting our temporal and eternal interests. It

would add greatly to the proposed extent of this work, if we were here to enter minutely into the consideration of the various words and passages which have been proved to be interpolations, and not from the first genuine portions of the original text. The most important of them is the verse, 1 JOHN, v, 7,

There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one.

The authenticity of this passage had long been disputed in the church, and has at last been thoroughly sifted by the learned and justly celebrated professor Porson, who, in his able work, "Letters to Archdeacon Travis," has set the question at rest, and clearly shown the much canvassed passage to be a forgery.

Such points as there, though they may bear with great weight upon doctrinal investigations, have little interest for those, who pursue an historical investigation like the present. For though it should be proved that the verse where the "Three Heavenly Witnesses" are named, was not to be found in the New Testament in the time of Eusebius, about A. D. 320, yet, if all the rest of the New Testament was then what it now is, we are not in the least degree nearer to the discovery when the book was first written; its general identity has never been disputed, though in a few places the reading has certainly been altered, not always it may be hoped, from such dishonest motives as those which have led to the verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses being now permanently engrafted into the sacred volume.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRISTIANITY NOT MENTIONED BY JOSEPHUS OR PHILO.

The year 37—seven years after the crucifixion of our Lord—is remarkable for the birth of Flavius Josephus, the learned and

warlike Jew : and about the same time, whilst Josephus was still a boy, flourished Philo Judæus, a philosopher of Alexandria, half Jewish half Greek, and author of numerous writings, still extant, mostly treatises on the Jewish law, and savouring of the Platonic philosophy, which for nearly two centuries had flourished in the Egyptian capital.

That two voluminous writers—for their collected works fill fourteen volumes *—should have lived so near the time of the Christian history, one of them being actually contemporary with Christ, and probably about the same age, is a fact fraught with much interest to our subject, as likely to furnish some test by which the accuracy of the sacred narrative might be tried. Great therefore is our disappointment at finding that Philo makes no mention of the Christians or of Christ's crucifixion : and in the somewhat prolix history of Josephus there is nothing but two passages, now admitted to be forgeries, in which any allusion to the same subject is to be found. The following is the principal of these passages.

JOS. ANTIQ. XVIII, iii, 3.

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εὔγε
 ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής,
 διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τὰ ἀληθῆ δεχομένων· καὶ
 πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ
 ἐπηγάγετο. Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν
 πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου,
 οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ γε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. Ἐφάνη γὰρ
 αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν
 ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. Εἰς
 ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ
 φύλον.

About this time was Jesus, a wise man, if at least it be right to call him a man : for he was the doer of wonderful works, a teacher of men who re-

* In Richter's edition, Lips. 1826—30.

ceive with pleasure the things which are true, and he gained over to himself many Jews and many of the Greeks. He was the Christ. And when Pilate, at the information of the first men among us, had punished him on the cross, those who loved him from the first did not cease to love him. For he appeared to them again the third day alive; the divine prophets having spoken both these and numberless other wonders about him. The tribe of Christians, so named from him, have not ceased to exist until the present time.

Those who are best acquainted with the character of Josephus and the style of his writings, have no hesitation in condemning this passage as a forgery interpolated in the text during the third century by some pious Christian, who was scandalized that so famous a writer as Josephus should have taken no notice of the Gospels or of Christ their subject. But the zeal of the interpolator has outrun his discretion, for we might as well expect to gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles as to find this notice of Christ among the Judaizing writings of Josephus. It is well known that this author was a zealous Jew, devoted to the laws of Moses and to the traditions of his countrymen. How then could he have written that *Jesus was the Christ*? Such an admission would have proved him to be a Christian himself, in which case the passage under consideration, too long for a Jew, would have been far too short for a believer in the new religion, and thus the passage stands forth, like an ill-set jewel, contrasting most inharmoniously, with every thing around it. If it had been genuine, we might be sure that Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Chrysostom would have quoted it in their controversies with the Jews, and that Origen or Photius would have mentioned it. But Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian [I, 11], is the first who quotes it, and our reliance on the judgment or even the honesty of this writer is not so great as to allow of our considering every thing found in his works as undoubtedly genuine.

Besides the extract already quoted, there is another short notice of Christ, which, in the words of Paley, is "allowed by many, though not without considerable question being moved about it,"

The main point of the narrative is very brief; but it is best to give the context from the beginning of the chapter.

Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Καῖσαρ Ἀλβῖνον εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἑπαρχον, Φῆστου τὴν τελευταίην πυθόμενος. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀφείλετο μὲν τὸν Ἰώσηπον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, τῷ δὲ Ἀνάνου παιδί, καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀνάνῳ λεγομένῳ, τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔδωκε. Τοῦτον δὲ φασὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἀνανον εὐτυχέστατον γενέσθαι· πέντε γὰρ ἔσχε παῖδας, καὶ τούτους πάντας συνέβη ἀρχιερατεῦσαι τῷ Θεῷ, αὐτὸς καὶ πρότερον τῆς τιμῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπολαύσας, ὅπερ οὐδενὶ συνέβη τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἀνανος, ὃν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν παρειληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως· αἵρεσιν δὲ μετῆει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. Ἄτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὢν ὁ Ἀνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον, διὰ τὸ τεθνᾶναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβῖνον δὲ ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν· καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ [τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ] καὶ τινες ἐτέρους, ὥς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκε λευσ-
θησομένους.

Cæsar sends Albinus as eparch [GOVERNOR] into Judæa, when he learnt that Festus was dead. But the emperor took away the high-priesthood from Joseph, and gave to the son of Ananus, who was also called Ananus, the succession to the office. The elder Ananus is said to have been a most lucky man : for he had five sons, and it happened that they all were God's high-priests, whilst himself also had before enjoyed that dignity for a very long time, which never was the case with any other of our high-priests. But the younger Ananus, whom we just named as having been appointed to the high-priesthood, was of a very bold and enterprising character : he followed the sect of the Sadducees, who are severe in their judgments beyond all the other Jews, as we have already shewn. Ananus then, being such a man as I have described, thinking that he had met with a fitting opportunity, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus was still on his journey, appoints a sanhedrim [meeting] of judges, and bringing before it [the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, named James] and some others, accused them of having broken the law, and gave them over to be stoned.

The words enclosed in brackets, *the brother of Jesus &c.*, are probably an interpolation * in the text, introduced, like the preceding, by some dishonest copyist in order to set aside the unfavourable consequences deduced from the silence of Josephus. Many reasons may be given for looking upon the words in question as an interpolation. I shall, however, be content, at present, to rest the case upon internal evidence; reserving until a future chapter the consideration of the relationship between Christ and James—for there is a remarkable obscurity on this point, in all the texts of the New Testament, where it is noticed. The internal evidence of the words before us is against their authenticity. For if the longer passage quoted from Josephus be rejected as spurious, the few words now before us are incomplete: they clearly refer to a more full account of Jesus which had preceded. If, however, we admit the former extract as genuine, the latter is inconsistent with it; for, in the former, Jesus is called *the Christ*, equivalent to ‘the Messiah’: but in the latter he is called simply ‘Christ,’ a name having no spiritual signification, and importing nothing more than an ordinary surname. This inconsistency could not have proceeded from Josephus, to whom the Greek and Hebrew languages were equally well known. It is extremely improbable that Josephus would use the term *the Christ*, without further explaining its signification; it is equally improbable that he would have used the surname *Christ*, without shewing that it originally had a spiritual derivation: but it is doubly improbable that he would have used both expressions, for the same individual, without stating that it indicated the Messiah whose coming the Jewish people were daily expecting. It would be very possible, also, to raise a question about the name *Christ* itself, if such enquiries were the main subject of this work; for its etymology

* Mr Hartwell Horne, in his ‘Introduction &c.’ says of this passage, “the authenticity of which has NEVER been disputed or suspected:” yet we read in Paley’s Evidences, chap. VII—“In another passage allowed by many, although not without considerable question being moved about it, we hear of James, the brother of &c.”

though evident, does not denote its origin. Suetonius and Lucian have *Χρηστος* CHRESTUS *good*, which is a different word from *Χριστος* CHRISTUS *anointed*, the Greek term for MESSIAH, the Hebrew name by which the expected prophet of the Jews was pointed out. These enquiries would be interesting, but must not detain us from our purpose, which is,—not to examine the evidences on which the history of Christianity is founded, but to ascertain at what stage of its progress this history was written. The authenticity of the passages quoted from Josephus does but slightly affect this question. If it be admitted that his notice of Christ is genuine, it is certain that we find nowhere in his works any mention of the Christian books.

In contrast with this notice of Christ is another passage found in Josephus respecting John the Baptist, about which no suspicion of spuriousness has ever been entertained.

Τισὶ δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει ὀλωλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδου στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαίως τιννυμένου κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Βαπτιστοῦ. Κτείνει γὰρ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦντας, καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐσεβεῖν χρωμένους βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανείσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἁμαρτάδων παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκεκαθαρμένης. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συστρεφομένων—καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῇ ἀκροάσει τῶν λόγων, δέισας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσούδε πιθανὸν αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐώκεσαν συμβουλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου πράξοντες, πολὺ κρεῖττον ἡγεῖται, πρὶν τι νεώτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀναιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοεῖν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδου, δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μαχαιροῦντα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ προειρημένον φρούριον, ταύτῃ κτίννυται. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου

τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι, τοῦ Θεοῦ κακῶς Ἡρώδῃ θέλοντος. JOS. ANT. XVII, v, 2.

It seemed to some of the Jews that Herod's army was destroyed by God, thus taking deserved vengeance for the death of John surnamed the Baptist. For Herod slew him, though he was a good man and exhorted the Jews to cherish virtue, and whilst practising uprightness towards one another, and piety towards God, to have recourse to baptism: for that their baptism would be acceptable to him, not if they made use of it for the setting aside of their sins, but for purity of body, that is if the soul also had been previously purified by righteousness. And when the rest of the people gathered themselves together—for they were excited to a great degree by hearing his words—Herod, fearing his great power of persuading men, lest it might lead to a revolt—for they seemed likely to do every thing by his counsel—deemed it much better, before any new thing should proceed from him, to seize him and put him to death, than, after some change had been wrought, to repent when he had fallen into trouble. And so he [John], on account of Herod's suspicion, was sent in bonds to the before-mentioned castle of Machærus, and there put to death. But the Jews thought that Herod's army was destroyed in vengeance for his death arising from God's anger being kindled against Herod.

Here would have been a good opportunity for the writer to have alluded to the connection between John the Baptist and Christ—if, at least, he was acquainted with the life and mission of both those teachers. But a good reason is supplied by Josephus himself, in the memoir of his own life, why he should have been acquainted with the teaching of John the Baptist, but not with that of Christ. For, in his search after truth, Josephus joined for a time the sect of the Essenes, to which John the Baptist, from the remarkable similarity of their doctrines, seems to have belonged, and so had an opportunity of learning the nature of their teaching: whilst on the other hand, as he afterwards left them and joined the Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, it is not likely that he ever knew of the Christian doctrines, or, certainly, that he would mention Christ as the Messiah that was to come.

The paragraphs here quoted, are the only ones in the works of Josephus which bear upon the history found in the four gospels,

and the silence of Josephus leads to the inference that Christianity had not begun to make much noise in the world during his life; that is, prior to about the 90th year of the Christian era.

The Mishna, a collection of Jewish traditions compiled about the year 180, takes no notice of Christianity, though it contains a chapter headed "*De cultu peregrino*," "*Of strange worship*." This omission is thought by Dr Paley to prove nothing, for, says he, "it cannot be disputed but that Christianity was perfectly well known to the world at this time." It cannot, certainly, be disputed that Christianity was *beginning* to be known to the world, but whether it had yet emerged from the lower classes of persons among whom it originated, may well be doubted. It is a prevailing error, in biblical criticism, to suppose that the whole world was feelingly alive to what was going on in small and obscure parts of it.—The existence of Christians was probably known to the compilers of the Mishna in 180: even though they did not deign to notice them; but they could not have had any knowledge of the New Testament; or they would undoubtedly have noticed it; if, at least, we are right in ascribing to it so high a character, attracting, (as we know it does), the admiration of every one in every country to which it is carried.

CHAPTER V.

TESTIMONY OF THE EARLY HEATHEN WRITERS TO THE QUESTION OF THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES.

From Josephus and Philo, the only Jewish writers coeval with Christ and his apostles, we turn to the Gentile world, i. e. the Grecian and Roman authors who lived during the first two centuries of the Christian era. We have seen that not even the

existence of the Christian faith, must less that of its written records, was known to either of the two only literary Jews of that period. But the case of the classical writers of Greece and Rome is different: these were certainly aware that there was a sect of men calling themselves Christians, but they were ignorant that the Christians had any religious books among them. To extract from all the classical writers, who lived between A. D. 30 and A. D. 200, would be the most satisfactory mode of making the reader acquainted with the history of our religion after the termination of the apostolic age: but, for our present purpose, the examination of these writers is superfluous. For though the remains of Grecian and Latin profane literature which belong to the first and second centuries of our era, are enough to form a library of themselves, they contain no allusion to the New Testament, and consequently the testimony which they render is of little moment to the question concerning that book, though it fully proves that the Christians were very numerous even at that early period.

But we may not dismiss these authors altogether without consideration: for a negative testimony may be derived, even from those descriptions which are adduced from them to prove the early existence and rapid spread of the Christian religion.

The Latin writers, who lived between the time of Christ's crucifixion and the year A. D. 200, are Seneca, Lucan, Suetonius, Tacitus, Persius, Juvenal, Martial, Pliny the Elder, Silius Italicus, Statius, Quintilian, and Pliny the younger, besides numerous others of inferior note. The greater number of these make mention of the Jews but not of the Christians. In fact, Suetonius, Tacitus, and the younger Pliny are the only Roman writers who mention the Christian religion or its founder. Their testimony is decided as to the great increase of Christianity towards the end of the first century.

Suetonius, speaking of the transactions of Nero's reign, says:

Affecti suppliciiis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novæ et maleficæ.

The Christians, a set of men of a new and mischievous superstition, were punished.

In another passage, also, the same author briefly alludes to Christ—at least it would appear so; though the ideas of the writer seem very confused, and his knowledge of the subject very scanty. He seems to have supposed that Christ, or Chrest as we read in the Latin manuscripts of his work, had placed himself at the head of a seditious movement, not in Jerusalem, but in Rome.

Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit. Suet. Claud. 25.

He expelled from Rome the Jews who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus.

The next writer is Tacitus, who was contemporary with Suetonius: they both wrote about the year 100. The account which Tacitus gives of the Christians is as follows:

Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quæsitissimis pœnis affectit, quos, per flagitia invisos, vulgus CHRISTIANOS appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocita aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum, multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis, convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis contecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi, aut flammandi, atque, ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigæ permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistent. Unde quanquam adversus fontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in sævitiam unius, absumerentur. Tac. Ann. xv, 44.

Nero, therefore, to put an end to the report, laid the blame, and inflicted the most exquisite punishments, upon those, whom, being hated for their crimes, the vulgar called Christians. The author of that name was Christ, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had been punished by Pontius Pilate the procurator. This deadly superstition, having been checked for the present, broke out again, not only throughout Judæa, the origin of that evil, but also throughout the city [OF ROME] whither all atrocious and shameful things flow together from all quarters and are put in practice. Those

therefore, who confessed, were first seized, and then, by their information, a great multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of arson, as for hatred of mankind. Their deaths also were aggravated by insult; for they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs, or else were crucified, or destined to be burnt, and so, when the day was over, they served as a light to enlighten the night. Nero had offered his gardens for that spectacle, and exhibited the circensian games, mingling with the people in the dress of a charioteer, or standing in a chariot. Wherefore, though they were guilty, and had deserved the worst punishments, yet pity was felt towards them, as if they were put to death, not for the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one man.

The most important testimony is that of Pliny the Younger, who lived some years later than Tacitus and Suetonius. He was proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia, and found the number of Christians in those provinces increase so rapidly, that he was puzzled how to act towards them, and consulted the emperor Trajan on the subject. The letters which passed between them have been preserved.

PLINII EPISTOLÆ 97, 98.

CAIUS PLINIUS TRAJANO IMPERATORI SALUTEM—Solemnè est mihi, domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere, vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui nunquam: ideo nescio, quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat, aut quæri. Nec mediocriter hæsitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen ætatum an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant; deturne pœnitentiæ venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit; nomen ipsum, etiamsi flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohærentia nomini, puniantur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tanquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum sequutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos, an essent Christiani: confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi, supplicium minatus: perseverantes duci jussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecunque esset, quod faterentur, perviciaciam certe, et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentię: quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens, qui negarent se esse Christianos, aut fuisse, quum, præeunte me, deos appellarent, et imagini tuæ, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, thure ac vino supplicarent, præterea maledicerent Christo: quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt revera Christiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi. Alii ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox ne-

gaverunt : fuisse quidem, sed desisse ; quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quoque. Omnes et imaginem tuam, deorumque simulacra venerati sunt : ii et Christo maledixerunt. Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ, vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire: carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem : seque sacramento non in seclum aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent : quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque cocundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen, et innoxium : quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetærias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi, ex duabus ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quærere. Sed nihil aliud inveni, quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam, ideoque, dilata cognitione, ad consulendum te decurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis ætatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam, vocantur in periculum, et vocabuntur. Neque enim civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est : quæ videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat, prope iam desolata templa cœpisse celebrari, et sacra solemnia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emtor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quæ turba hominum emendari pōssit, si fiat pœnitentiæ locus.

TRAJANUS PLINIO SALUTEM. Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in executendis causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, sequutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt : si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt : ita tamen, ut, qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est, supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in præteritum fuerit, veniam ex pœnitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli, nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli, nec nostri seculi est.

C. PLINY TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN, HEALTH—It is customary with me to refer to you, my lord, all matters about which I entertain a doubt. For who is better able either to rule my hesitation or to instruct my ignorance ? I have never been present at the enquiries about the Christians : and therefore cannot say for what crime or to what extent they are usually punished, or what is the nature of the inquiry about them. Nor have I been free from great doubts whether there should not be a distinction between ages, or how far those of a tender frame should be treated differently from the robust : whether those who repent should not be pardoned, so that one who

has been a Christian, should not derive advantage from having ceased to be one : whether the name itself, of being a Christian, should be punished, or only crimes attendant upon the name.

In the mean time, I have laid down this rule in dealing with those who were brought before me for being Christians. I asked whether they were Christians : if they confessed, I asked them a second and a third time, threatening them with punishment : if they persevered, I ordered them to be led off. For I had no doubt in my mind, that whatever it might be which they acknowledged, obduracy and inflexible obstinacy at all events should be punished. There were others guilty of like folly, whom I set aside to be sent to Rome, because they were Roman citizens. In the next place, when this crime began, as usual, gradually to spread, it shewed itself in a variety of ways. An indictment was set forth without any author, containing the names of many, who denied that they were Christians or ever had been ; and, when I set the example, they called on the gods, and made offerings of frankincense and wine to your image, which I, for this purpose, had ordered to be brought out together with the images of the gods ; moreover they cursed Christ : none of which acts can be extorted from those who are really Christians. I consequently gave orders that they should be discharged. Again : others, who had been informed against, said that they were Christians, and afterwards denied it : that they had been so once but had ceased to be so ; some three years ago, some longer than that, and some even twenty years before : all of them worshipped your image and the statues of the gods ; they also cursed Christ. But they asserted that this was the sum total of their crime or error, whichever it may be called, that they were used to come together on a stated day before it was light, and to sing in turn, among themselves, a hymn to Christ, as to a god, and to bind themselves by an oath, not to any thing wicked, but that they would not commit theft, robbery or adultery, nor break their word, nor deny that any thing had been entrusted to them when called upon to restore it. After this they said that it was their custom to separate, and again to meet together to take their meals, which were in common and of a harmless nature : but that they had ceased even to do this since the proclamation which I issued according to your commands, forbidding such meetings to be held. I therefore deemed it the more necessary to enquire of two servant-maids, who were said to be attendants [DEACONNESSES ?] what was the real truth, and to apply the torture. But I found that it was nothing but a bad and excessive superstition, and I consequently adjourned the enquiry, and consulted you upon the subject. For it seemed to me to be a matter on which it was desirable to take advice, in consequence of the number of those who are in danger. For there are many of every age, of every rank, and even

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of both sexes, who are invited to incur the danger, and will still be invited. For the infection of this superstition has spread through, not only cities, but also villages and the country; though it seems possible to check and remedy it. At all events it is evident that the temples, which had been almost deserted, have begun to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities which had been intermitted are revived, and victims are sold everywhere, though formerly it was difficult to find a buyer. It is therefore easy to believe, what a number of persons may be corrected, if the door of repentance be left open.

TRAJAN TO PLINY, HEALTH.—You have acted very properly, my Secundus, in enquiring into the case of those, who were brought before you for being Christians. For it is impossible to lay down any universal rule bearing a set form. The Christians are not to be sought out: but if they are brought up and convicted, they must be punished: yet in such a way that, if any one denies he is a Christian, and proves what he says by some deed, such as making offerings to our deities, though he may be open to suspicion about the past, yet he should be pardoned in consequence of his repentance. But indictments put forth anonymously cannot be admitted in the case of any crime. For this would be a most dangerous precedent, and wholly incompatible with the age in which we live.

The philosopher Seneca lived in the latter half of the first century after Christ. His writings, which are tolerably numerous, do not allude to the Christians: though, from more than one passage we may gather that he was acquainted with the Jewish nation. In his 95th epistle, § 47, we read,

Accendere aliquem lucernam sabbathis prohibeamus: quoniam nec lumine dii egent, et ne homines quidem delectantur fuligine.—Let us forbid a man from lighting a candle on the sabbath day; for the gods do not want a light, and neither do men take pleasure in smoke.

In Epistle 108, § 22, is an allusion to the Jewish custom of avoiding certain kinds of flesh:

In Tiberii Cæsaris principatum juventæ tempus inciderat: alienigena tum sacra movebantur: sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorundam animalium abstinencia.—My youth was cast in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar: foreign religious rites were at that time much talked of: among their different kinds of superstition was abstinence from the flesh of certain animals.

It has been thought that Seneca may have been personally acquainted with St Paul; for they both lived at the same time; and we learn from the Acts of the Apostles that Paul taught the Christian doctrines at Rome, "no man forbidding him." The possibility of such an acquaintance between the philosopher and the preacher led to the fabrication of thirteen letters, said to have passed between them: but these letters, which are still extant,* are too dull to have been written by St Paul and Seneca, and have been justly set aside as neither authentic nor valuable.

The foregoing extracts furnish all the evidence which can be gained from the Latin writers on the subject of Christianity down to the latter half of the second century of our era.

The Greek classic writers, who lived between the time of Christ's crucifixion and the year 200 are those which follow; Epictetus, Plutarch, Ælian, Arrian, Galen, Lucian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Ptolemy, Marcus Aurelius [who, though a Roman emperor, wrote in Greek], Pausanias, and many others of less note. The allusions to Christianity found in their works are singularly brief and lead to the belief that the religion was still confined to the poor, of whom, we have our Lord's assurance, the kingdom of Heaven was mostly to consist. Yet we must bestow a few remarks upon the Greek authors whose names have been enumerated; for they throw a certain light over the early progress of Christianity.

Epictetus, the Stoic philosopher, speaks of the Christians under the name of Galilæans, and ascribes to them an intrepidity of character which he sets down as madness.

Is it possible that a man may arrive at this temper, and become indifferent to these things from madness or from habit AS THE GALILÆANS?

Fifty years latter than Epictetus lived Marcus Aurelius, the well known emperor, who, amid the cares of royalty, found time

* I have recently published them in *CODEx APOCRYPHUS NOVI TESTAMENTI*, 2 VOLS 8VO, LOND. AP. D. NUTT, 1852.

to indulge in the delights of learning. In his philosophic treatise *Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, *concerning himself*, we find the following words, not very complimentary to the Christians, but clearly indicating their existence and the position they occupied in the reign of the younger Antonine.

Τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ φιλήν παράταξιν, ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως, καὶ σεμνῶς, καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι, ἀτραγώδως.

Let this preparation of the mind [i. e. to die] arise from its own judgment, and not from obstinacy LIKE THE CHRISTIANS; but deliberately, and reverentially, and undramatically, that it may persuade others.

The most remarkable writer of that age was Lucian of Samosata, the author of numerous dialogues and discourses, still extant, and written in a style worthy of the best age of Grecian literature. The character of their author has been unworthily assailed by modern bigots, who have ascribed to him a violent hatred against the Christians. This charge is wholly unsupported by the notices of Christianity that occur in his writings. Indeed the only passages which at all seem to indicate such a feeling, occur in the dialogue named *Philopatris*, which certainly was not written by Lucian, but by some other writer who lived at a later period, when the doctrines of Christianity had become extensively known. The dialogue lies between *Triephon* and *Critias*; the former of whom calls on the latter to swear,—not by Jupiter, Juno, or any of the heathen deities, but by another deity whom he periphrastically describes, in terms that shew him to have been acquainted with the god of the Hebrews and of the Christians:

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ. Καὶ τίνα ἐπομόσομαί γε;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ. Ὑψιμέδοντα θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
 Υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον,
 Ἐν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία,
 Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.

ΚΡΙΤΙΑΣ. Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις, καὶ ὄρκος ἡ ἀριθμητική· Καὶ γὰρ ἀριθμέεις ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός. Οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις, ἐν τρία, τρία ἔν. Μὴ τὴν τετρακτὺν φῆς τὴν Πυθαγόρου, ἢ τὴν ὀγδοάδα, καὶ τριακάδα ;

ΤΡΙΕΦΩΝ. Σίγα τὰ νέρθε, καὶ τὰ συγῆς ἄξια· οὐκ ἔσθ' ὧδε μετρεῖν τὰ ψυλλῶν ἵχνη. Ἐγὼ γάρ σε διδάξω τί τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τίς ὁ πρόων πάντων, καὶ τί τὸ σύστημα τοῦ παντός. Καὶ γὰρ πρόων καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ἅπερ σύ· ἡνίκα δέ μοι Γαλιλαῖος ἐνέτυχεν, ἀναφαλαντίας, ἐπίρρινος, ἐς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀεροβατήσας, καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἐκμεμαθηκώς, δι' ὕδατος ἡμᾶς ἀνεκαίνισεν, ἐς τὰ τῶν μακάρων ἵχνια παρεισώδευσε, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀσεβῶν χώρων ἡμᾶς ἐλυτρώσατο.

CRITIAS. And by whom shall I swear?

TRIEPHON. The god who rules aloft, great, immortal, heavenly, Son of the Father, Spirit proceeding from the Father: One out of Three, and Three out of One: These consider as Jove; look on him as God.

CRITIAS. You are teaching me arithmetic; and the oath is arithmetical. You are arithmeticizing, like Nicomachus the Gerasenian. For I know not what you say, one-three, and three-one. Do you allude to the tetrad of Pythagoras, or the ogdoad, or the triakad?

TRIEPHON. Say nothing of those earthly matters, that should be for ever buried in silence: we have not now to follow the traces of spiders. I will teach you all, and who was the earliest of all, and what is the system of the universe. For I was once what you are now: but when the Galilæan [ST PAUL] lighted upon me, that bald-headed, long-nosed man, who trod the air into the third heaven, and became acquainted with such beautiful things, and renewed us with water, he guided me into the footsteps of the blessed, and rescued us from the wicked places.

But the dialogue, in which these words occur, was not written until many years after the death of Lucian. In a discourse on the character and adventures of Alexander the magician, he makes this pretender tell his deluded followers:

Pontus was full of atheists and Christians, who tried to spread the basest calumnies about him; and he bade his followers stone them, if they wish to have the favour of God.

Λέγω, ἀθέων ἐμπεπληῆσθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἱ

περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν, οὓς ἐκέλευε λίθοις ἐλαύνειν, εἴγε ἐθέλουσιν ἴλεω ἔχειν τὸν θεόν. LUC. ALEX. 25.

A third extract from the "Death of Peregrinus," gives us all that can be gained out of the works of Lucian on our present subject. The author relates the previous history and crimes of this talented but wicked man, how he killed his father and was saved by flight from the punishment due to his misdeeds.

Φυγὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταδικάσας ἐπλανάτο, ἄλλην ἄλλοτε ἀμείβων.

11. "Ὅτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν τῶν Χρηστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε, περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερέυσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν ξυγγενόμενος. Καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βραχεὶ παίδας αὐτοὺς ἀπεφηνε, προφήτης, καὶ θιασάρχης, καὶ ξυναγωγεὺς, καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν. Καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἐξηγεῖτο, καὶ διεσάφει· πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ξυνέγραφε, καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι ἡγοῦντο, καὶ νομοθέτῃ ἐχρῶντο, καὶ προστάτην ἐπέγραφον. Τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκείνου ἔτι σέβουσιν ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον. 12. Τότε δὴ καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεὺς, ἐπέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιεποίησε πρὸς τὸν ἐξῆς βίον, καὶ τὴν τερατείαν, καὶ δοξοκοπίαν, ὧν ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα, πάντα ἐκίνουν, ἐξαρπάσαι πειρώμενοι αὐτόν. Εἴτ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἤγε ἄλλη θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ ξὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίνετο· καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθύς ἦν ὄρᾳν παρὰ τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γραῖδια, χήρας τινὰς, καὶ παιδιὰ ὀρφανὰ· οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθευδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ, διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἶτα δείπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο, καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο, καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περεργῖνος (ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο) καινὸς Σωκράτης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠνομάζετο. 13. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἐστὶν ὧν ἡκόν τινες, τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσοντες, καὶ ξυναγορεύοντες, καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδάν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται, δημόσιον. Ἐν βραχεὶ

γὰρ, ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περειγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἦκε χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ πρόσδοτον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποιήσατο. Πεπείκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες, τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσσεσθαι, καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον. Παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἐκόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί. Ἐπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς, ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων · ἐπειδὰν ἅπαξ παραβάντες, θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι. Καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἀπάντων ἐξίσης, καὶ κοινὰ ἡγούνται, ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι. Ἦν τοίνυν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης, καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγένετο, ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών. 14. Πλὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Περειγρίνος ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντος, ἀνδρὸς φιλοσοφία χαίροντος, ὃς συνεῖς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι δέξαιτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολίποι, ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν, οὐδὲ τῆς κολάσεως ὑπολαβὼν ἄξιον. Ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανελθὼν, καταλαμβάνει τὸ περὶ τοῦ πατρῷου φόνου ἔτι φλεγμαῖνον, καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπανατεινόμενους τὴν κατηγορίαν. Διήρπαστο δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κτημάτων παρὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μόνοι ὑπελείποντο οἱ ἀγροὶ ὅσον εἰς πεντεκαίδεκα ταλάντων ἀξία, ἣν ὁ γέρον καταέλιπεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ ὁ παγγέλοιος Θεαγένης ἔλεγε, πεντακισχιλιων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ οὐδὲ ἡ πᾶσα τῶν Παριανῶν πόλις, πέντε σὺν αὐτῇ τὰς γειτνιώσας παραλαβοῦσα, πραθείῃ ἂν, αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ βοσκήμασι, καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ παρασκευῇ. 15. Ἄλλ' ἔτι γε ἡ κατηγορία καὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα θερμὸν ἦν, καὶ ἔρκει οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπαναστήσεσθαί τις αὐτῷ. Καὶ μάλιστα ὁ δῆμος αὐτὸς ἡγανάκει, χρηστὸν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ ἰδόντες, γέροντα πενθοῦντες, οὕτως ἀσεβῶς ἀπολωλότα. Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὗτος Πρωτεὺς πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα σκέψασθε οἷόν τι ἐξεῦρε, καὶ ὅπως τὸν κίνδυνον διέφυγε. Παρελθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν Παριανῶν, (ἐκόμα δὲ ἤδη, καὶ τρίβωνα πιναρὸν ἡμπείχετο, καὶ πήραν παρήρτητο, καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἦν, καὶ ὅλως μάλα τραγικῶς ἐσκεύαστο,)

τοιούτος οὖν ἐπιφανείς αὐτοῖς, ἀφείναι ἔφη τὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν ὁ μακαρίτης πατήρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, δημοσίαν εἶναι πᾶσαν. Τοῦτο ὡς ἤκουσεν ὁ δῆμος, πένητες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ πρὸς διανομὰς κεχηνότες, ἀνέκραγον εὐθὺς ἓνα φιλόσοφον, ἓνα φιλόπατριν, ἓνα Διογένηος καὶ Κρίτητος ζηλωτὴν. Οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ ἐπεφίμωντο. Καὶν εἴ τις ἐπιχειρήσειε μεμνήσθαι τοῦ φόνου, λίθοις εὐθὺς ἐβάλλετο. 16. Ἐξήει οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενος, ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος, ἐν ἅπασιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα οὕτως ἐβόσκετο. Εἶτα παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους, (ᾧφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς) οὐκ ἔτι προσιεμένων αὐτῶν ἀπορούμενος, ἐκ παλινωδίας ᾤετο δεῖν &c.

Consigning himself to exile, he took to flight, and wandered about from one country to another. At this time it was that he learnt the wonderful philosophy of the Chrestians, having kept company with their priests and scribes* in Palestine. And what was the end of it? In a short time he shewed them to be mere children, for he became a prophet, a leader of their processions, the marshaller of their meetings, and every thing in himself alone. And of books he explained and cleared up some, and wrote many himself: and they deemed him a god, made use of him as a legislator, and enrolled him as their patron. They still worship that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because he introduced this new worship into life. For this, then, Proteus was seized and thrown into prison, which circumstance also gave him no little importance from that moment, both in the working of wonders, and in thirst for popularity, of which he was very fond. When he was put in prison, the Christians, looking upon it as a misfortune, moved every thing in their endeavours to rescue him. But when this was impossible, every other kind of attention was shewn to him, not leisurely but with all their zeal. At early dawn, might be seen waiting about the prison old women, certain widows, and orphan children. But those of them who were in authority, also, corrupting the guards, slept in the prison with him. Then elegant suppers were carried in for him, and they held there their sacred conversations, and the good Peregrinus (for he was still so called) was named by them a new Socrates. Moreover there came to him persons from some of the cities of Asia, sent by the Christians

* Lucian here confounds the Christians with the Jews: the former had no priests or scribes.

out of their common stock, to assist him, to join in advising him, and to comfort the man. But it is wonderful what alacrity they show, whenever such a thing happens, in the common cause. For in a very short time they are lavish of every thing they have: and Peregrinus, on the plea of his imprisonment, then received so many things from them, that he made no small revenue from this source. For those unlucky people have brought themselves to the belief, that they shall be wholly immortal, and live for ever; for which reason also the most part of them despise life, and willingly give themselves up. In the next place, their first lawgiver has persuaded them that they are all brethren one of another, when, having once transgressed the law, they have denied the gods of the Greeks, and worship that sophist of theirs who was crucified, and live according to his laws. They therefore despise all things alike, and look upon all things as common, having received such doctrines without any very exact belief. If then any man, who is a magician, or good artist, and knows how to manage matters, goes among them he immediately becomes rich in a short time, and laughs at those foolish people.

The governor of Syria, being a man who took pleasure in philosophy, treated Peregrinus with mildness; for perceiving his madness, and that he would even die to leave behind him a reputation on that account, he set him free not thinking him worthy of punishment. But he, returning to his own country, found the ferment about his father's murder still alive, and many persons ready to accuse him. The greatest part of his possessions had been plundered through his absence, and nothing remained but the land, to the value of fifteen talents: for the whole of the property, which the old man left, was in value about thirty talents, not five thousand, as the ridiculous Theagenes stated. For this is a sum which all the city of the Parianians, with five other neighbouring cities, including their men and cattle, and all their goods, would not fetch. But the accusation and the charge against him was still hot, and it was probable that before long some one would stand forward against him. The people at large were most excited against him, from sorrow that a good old man, according to those who had seen him, should have been so impiously murdered. But only see the contrivance which this cunning Proteus adopted to meet all this, and how he escaped the danger. His hair was now long, and he had on a rough cloak: a staff was in his hand, and he had altogether a very tragic appearance. In this guise, then, he went before the people, and said that he would give up to them as public property, all that his good father had left him. The people, being mostly poor men, and eager to receive distributions, no sooner heard this than they shouted out he was a philosopher and a patriot, equal to Diogenes and Crates: but his enemies held their peace. If any one at-

tempted to recall to mind the murder he had committed, he was immediately stoned. 16. Peregrinus then went out a second time on his wanderings, having plenty of provision for his journeys from the Christians, by whom he was escorted as if by guards, and had every thing in great plenty : and in this way he supported himself for some time. But afterwards he gave some offence to them also,—he was seen, I believe, eating some of the meats which are forbidden among them—and being at a loss what to do when they no longer visited him, he thought it best to recant, &c.

The date of Lucian is towards the end of the second century ; and Peregrinus lived some years earlier. It is remarkable that the only paragraph where books are named, is so worded that it is dangerous to suppose the New Testament scriptures are meant. “Of books, he [*Peregrinus*] explained and cleared up some,” but “many he wrote himself.” These expressions give the idea of a process of writing books as being then practised, perhaps on an extensive scale. We know from other sources that the second century was most productive in gospels, acts of apostles, epistles, and revelations. A large number of such works still remain, and some of them, for aught we know, may have been written by Peregrinus, during the time that he frequented the Christian meetings, and made himself famous for his versatile acquirements.

The account given of Peregrinus and the “books,” forbid us to limit the term to the apostolical writings which now form the canon of the New Testament. If those books had been then in existence, and received for canonical, we can hardly believe that Peregrinus could have gained credit for writing others, which, like the brazen shields of Numa, would in after ages make it difficult to distinguish between the genuine and the false.

Yet it is probable that, at this very time, or about the middle of the second century, the books of the New Testament were written, not yet however, as possessing the sole authority of the church, but as sharing with other writings, some of which are still in existence, the attention of Christians, according as each was believed to contain facts of Christ’s history worthy to be read by believers.

CHAPTER VI.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE APOSTOLICAL FATHERS, BARNABAS,
CLEMENT, IGNATIUS, POLYCARP AND HERMAS.

Those modern theologians, who have written on the evidences of the Christian religion, lay much stress upon the testimony of five writers, Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Hermas, who are said to have been contemporary with the twelve apostles, and under whose names are still extant certain short compositions, mostly epistles, said to furnish the strongest evidence to the existence and identity of the gospels, and of the history contained in them. It will be proper to examine these alleged testimonies with minuteness, because these are the only writings, that have come down to us earlier than the year 100, and as their authors are said to have had familiar intercourse with the apostles themselves, we might expect to find in them explicit mention of every thing which the apostles themselves had written. The point at which I am here aiming, must not be misunderstood. If the four gospels and other books were written by those who had been eyewitnesses of Christ's miracles, and the five apostolical fathers had conversed with the apostles, it is not to be conceived that they would not have named the actual books themselves which possessed so high authority and would be looked up to with so much respect by all the Christians. This is the only way in which their evidence could be of use to support the authenticity of the New Testament as being the work of the apostles ; but this is a testimony which the five apostolical fathers fail to supply. There is not a single sentence, in all their remaining works, in which a clear allusion to the New Testament is to be found. It is in vain that their evidence to the facts of Christianity has been cited by Paley and other advocates of the authenticity. This is not the point at issue. Few persons

will be found to dispute the facts of Christ's history, but they contend, and with truth, that the accounts of them, which have come down to us in the New Testament, were not put together as we now have them, until many years had elapsed—a sufficient time, in short, to explain the vagueness with which some of the facts are recorded, and even the contradictions which lie between the different evangelists in their narratives of the same transaction.

The author of the “Evidences of Christianity” justly argues thus :

Now that the original story, the story delivered by the first preachers of the institution, should have died away so entirely as to have left no record or memorial of its existence, although so many records and memorials of the time and transaction remain ; and that another story should have stepped into its place, and gained exclusive possession of the belief of all who professed themselves disciples of the institution, is beyond any example of the corruption of even oral tradition, and still less consistent with the experience of written history : and this improbability, which is very great, is rendered still greater by the reflection, that no such change as the oblivion of one story, and the substitution of another, took place in any future period of the Christian era. Christianity hath travelled through dark and turbulent ages ; nevertheless it came out of the cloud and the storm, such, in substance, as it entered in. Many additions were made to the primitive history, and these entitled to different degrees of credit, many doctrinal errors also were from time to time grafted into the public creed ; but still the original story remained, and remained the same. In all its principal parts, it has been fixed from the beginning.

That the treatises ascribed to Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Hermas are based upon the same story as the books of the New Testament, is not to be denied. The events related in the history of Christ passed current in tradition among the Christians long before they were set down in writing : and the sayings of Christ were no doubt treasured up like household jewels by his disciples and followers. Why, then, may we not refer the quotations of Christ's words, occurring in the Apostolical Fathers, to an origin of this kind ? If we examine a few of those quotations,

the supposition, just stated, will expand into reality. In the epistle attributed to Barnabas, chap. 5, we read,

"Οτε δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους, μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξελέξατο, ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους—ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθε "καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν,"—τότε ἐφάνέρωσεν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν Θεοῦ εἶναι.

But when he [Christ] chose his own apostles, about to preach his gospel, and who were lawless beyond every kind of sin,—that he might shew how he came not "to call the righteous but sinners to repentance,"—he then displayed himself to be the son of God.

Here is not necessarily an allusion to either of the four gospels which we now have, but only to a remarkable apophthegm of our Lord, which may have been current universally among the Christians, long before it was perpetuated in the gospels. The same may be said of every single sentence found in any of the Apostolical Fathers, which on first sight might be thought to be a decided quotation from one of the gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke or John. It is impossible to deny the truth of this observation ; for we see it confirmed by the fact that the Apostolical Fathers do actually quote Moses, and other Old Testament writers by name, "Moses hath said," "But Moses says," &c. in numerous passages ; but we nowhere meet with the words "Matthew hath said in his Gospel," "John hath said," &c. They always quote, not the words of the evangelists, but the words of Christ himself directly, which furnishes the strongest presumption, that, though the sayings of Christ were in general vogue, yet the evangelical histories, into which they were afterwards embodied, were not then in being.

But the converse of this view of the case, leads us to the same conclusion. The Apostolical Fathers quote sayings of Christ which are not found in our gospels. If we suppose Barnabas to have quoted above from our gospel according to St Matthew,

from what source did he take the following, which also appears in his treatise, ch. 7 ?

Οἱ θελοντές με ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἅψασθαί μου τῆς βασιλείας, ὀφείλουσι θλιβέντες καὶ παθόντες λαβεῖν με.

Those who wish to see me, and to touch my kingdom, must be contrite and suffering and so take hold of me.

These words do not occur in any part of the New Testament. Aware of the importance of this fact, the advocates of the authenticity have endeavoured to explain it by alleging that passages of *similar meaning* are to be found in the New Testament. This explanation is not sufficient : for if Barnabas had the New Testament before him, why did he not make use of it by wording his quotations with accuracy ? We must not lower our religion, or its early teachers to a level with the most imbecile individuals of our species, by ascribing to them a mode of acting which, on all other subjects, would expose them to contempt. It is unnecessary to do so. For there is no proof that our New Testament was in existence during the lives of the Apostolical Fathers, who therefore could not make citations out of books which they had never seen.

The foregoing remarks have been made on the supposition that the writings which remain under the names of Barnabas, Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp and Hermas, were really written by persons who bore those names, and that those persons not only lived in the first century, but were intimate, more or less, with the apostles and their companions. But such admission is, unhappily, more than the cause of truth will warrant. The writings of the Apostolical Fathers labour under a more heavy load of doubt and suspicion than any other ancient compositions either sacred or profane. In former times, when the art of criticism was in its infancy, these writings were ten times as extensive as they are now, and they were circulated without the slightest doubt of their authenticity. But, as the spirit of inquiry grew, and the records of past times were investigated, the mists which obscured the horizon of belief

were gradually dispersed, and the genial sun of truth began to shed beams of unexpected light upon the toilsome progress of mankind. Things which had chained and enslaved the mind for ages, dissolved and faded into nothing at the dawn of day, and objects that once held the most unbounded sway over the belief, proved to be unreal beings, phantoms of the mind, creatures of superstition, if not of fraud, placed like the ghostly lions in the path of the pilgrim, to deter him from proceeding on the way that leads to the heavenly city of truth.

I have said that the writings of the Apostolical Fathers were once ten times as bulky as at present. The assertion does not pass the bounds of truth: for under that title were once included the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, occupying two large folio volumes. When these works, consisting of religious dissertations, had for many hundred years passed for authentic throughout all Christendom, and had even been painfully translated into Latin by Rufinus the celebrated presbyter of Aquileia, a sudden shock was given to the feelings of those who believed in these mysterious volumes. Truth laid its magic wand upon the ponderous tomes and they at once disappeared from the sight, leaving to their author the narrow limits of fame which he occupies in the Acts of the Apostles—limits beyond which he should never have been compelled to go: for, as an enlightened man and one of the first to recognize the truth of Christianity, his reputation is more brilliant than all the theological treatises in the world, even if authentic, could bestow. The works of Dionysius the Areopagite were found out to be forgeries, put together, perhaps, by some pious but ill-principled devotee, who thought that the paucity of writings in the first century of the Christian era was a defect, which had better be supplied by fraud than the void be suffered to remain. With the works of Dionysius nine tenths of primitive Christian writings were withdrawn from the regions of authenticity: and about 250 pages, as given in the edition of Hefele, were now all that remained of what had once been ascribed to the pens of the contemporaries of the apostles. But the

process of exhaustion was not yet ended. The Shepherd of Hermas, a contemptible train of allegories, and all that remained of their supposed author, soon followed the lucubrations of the Areopagite. The Shepherd, also, was declared to be a forgery, or, if not an *intentional forgery*, at all events to have been written by another Hermas who lived many years later, and not the contemporary of the apostles. This fact is now no more disputed than the spuriousness of Dionysius: no one ventures to say that the work of Hermas is genuine,—unless, perhaps, some solitary critic, possessing more credulity than ratiocination, sturdily rebuilds upon a blind faith the edifice which the free use of reason had demolished.

With Hermas, 130 more pages of testimony were cancelled, and the enemies of the authenticity rejoiced in the destruction which their onslaught had made in the ranks of their orthodox opponents.

But the defenders of the early Christian writers were not dismayed by the process which had thinned their ranks. There were four Apostolical Fathers remaining of the six; and the credit of these could not be shaken. The victory was still theirs, with the compact body of evidence which these four undoubted witnesses supplied. Alas! how weak is the strength of man! above all, of the dogmatist, who quenches the light of reason, and calls on us blindly to follow where a blind guide had gone before! It is painful to contemplate the issue, which inevitably awaits an examination of the four apostolical fathers which were left. It is hard to find words in which to relate the sentence that has already been passed on Barnabas. Hefele, the enlightened, and orthodox editor of these writings, has passed the judgment, and we will give it in his own words.

No one will deny that the testimonies are in favour of its authenticity [i. e. of the Epistle of Barnabas]. Nevertheless, we are induced for grave reasons to deny that it is the production of the Apostolic Father.

1. If it had been considered authentic by the ancients, it would have been read in the churches, as Augustine said of the apocryphal writings as-

cribed to Andrew and John : " If written by them, they would have been received by the church."

2. The epistle was written after the destruction of Jerusalem, as may be conjectured from Chap. 16. But, as we have shewn above (Lit. 1), there is no doubt that Barnabas was then dead.

3. In chap. 5, the apostles are called "lawless beyond every kind of sin ;" which I think Barnabas, who had been the companion of the apostles, would hardly have uttered. Such hyperbolical expressions rather suit a rhetorician of the second century.

4. The marvels related in chap. 10 about the hare, the hyæna, &c. savour of some allegorizing trifler rather than of an apostle.

5. Barnabas, who had travelled over all Asia Minor, and lived many years at Antioch in Syria, ought to have known the falsehood of that which is stated in chapter 9, that the priests of the idols, and all the Syrians were circumcised.

6. There are numerous allegorical trifles, particularly in chaps 5—11 which could not have been written by him, who, for the vivacity of his eloquence, was called by the apostles Bar-Nabas, THE SON OF CONSOLATION.

7. There are some errors in chaps 7 and 8, respecting the Jewish sacred rites, which could not have been committed by Barnabas, who was a Levite, and had dwelt long at Jerusalem.

8. Numerous other inconsistencies are found in the same epistle &c.

A similar train of reasoning has led Hefele to ascribe the epistle of Barnabas to some writer who lived in the early part of the second century. We need not repeat those reasons, but it is important to remark that, if the work be correctly ascribed to that later period, its making no mention of the four gospels would equally shew that the canon of the New Testament was not even then formed ; nor is this inconsistent with our view of those histories. There is no evidence that they existed earlier than the middle of the second century, for they are not named by any writer who lived before that time.

The sentence pronounced upon Barnabas leaves little more than a hundred pages for all that remain of the works of Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement of Rome. But the work of elimination is not yet ended.

1. As regards Ignatius ; hear the words of Hefele :

Fifteen epistles pass under the name of Ignatius Of these, EIGHT, BY THE UNANIMOUS DECISION OF THE LEARNED, ARE PRONOUNCED TO BE SPURIOUS !

2. As regards Polycarp, to whom one epistle is ascribed :

The authenticity of his Epistle has been called in question by the Centuriators of Magdeburg, by Dallæus and others, and defended by Nicolas de Nourry &c.

3. As regards Clement, the reputed author of two epistles :

We agree to the opinion of Græbuis, and Möhler, that the so-called second epistle of Clement was one of the homilies falsely ascribed to him &c. Woher thinks it was written by Dionysius bishop of Corinth. But Græbuis considers it a spurious work of the middle of the third century.

Thus not one of these primitive writers has escaped suspicion. The three survivors, Polycarp, Clement and Ignatius, present a very feeble phalanx, quite incompetent to maintain the communications between A. D. 60 (about the date of Paul) and A. D. 150, when Justin Martyr and others come to the rescue in continuing the process of tradition : and, as we have seen, not one of these has been allowed to pass unquestioned. A heavy blow has, within the last few years, been dealt on the most important, even of these—Ignatius. His works, long disputed, because they contained passages supporting certain ecclesiastical ordinances, and in the opinion of many savouring of a more recent date, when those ordinances were better established, had given much labour to Pearson and others to defend their authenticity. At length, some ancient MSS. have been brought to Europe from the east—and published by the Rev. W. Cureton :—in those MSS. many of the disputed passages are not found !

In this way is the boasted testimony of the Apostolical Fathers reduced to the shadow of a shade. Humbled from the high office of speaking in the cause of truth, they have to fight for their own existence. From the stately magnificence of two folios, they have dwindled to about the quantity of matter which would fill fifty pages of the present volume, and still, in this concentrated form,

they give no indication that, in their day, the books of the New Testament were in being. What conclusion may we then draw from these reasonings? That the four gospels—for our principal concern is with them—were not compiled before the end of the first century; that consequently they are not contemporary records of the Christian history; that we do wrong in abiding by the letter when it is quite evident that we have nothing to do but with their spirit: that adventitious authority adduced in their support is unnecessary: that they are to be judged by their own glorious doctrines alone; and that they derive no more support or illustration from the contemptible writings of the Apostolical Fathers, than the sun can receive additional brilliancy from a wax-taper or a farthing rushlight.

CHAPTER VII.

PAPIAS QUOTED BY IRENÆUS AND EUSEBIUS.

A connecting link between the Apostolical Fathers and the great writers who lived at the end of the second century, Justin Martyr, Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria is supplied by Papias, who is quoted by Eusebius at the end of Book III of his Ecclesiastical History.

Archdeacon Paley, in his *Evidences of Christianity*, brings forward Papias to prove that the books of the New Testament, which we now have, were in existence and publicly known to the world at the time when Papias lived. These are the words of Paley:

Papias, a hearer of John, and companion of Polycarp, as Irenæus attests, and of that age, as all agree, in a passage quoted by Eusebius, from a work now lost, expressly ascribes the respective gospels to Matthew and Mark; and in a manner which proves that these gospels must have publicly borne the names of these authors at that time, and probably long before; for Papias does not say that one gospel was written by Matthew and ano-

ther by Mark ; but, assuming this as perfectly well known, he tells us from what materials Mark collected his account, namely from Peter's preaching, and in what language Matthew wrote, namely in Hebrew. Whether Papias was well informed in this statement, or not ; to the point for which I produce this testimony, namely, that these books bore these names at this time, his authority is complete.

Before we proceed to comment upon these words, let us examine the whole chapter, in Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, where almost all that we know of Papias is found. Euseb. Hist. Ecc. III, 39.

Τοῦ δὲ Παπία συγγράμματα πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν φέρεται, ἃ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως. Τούτων καὶ Εἰρηναῖος ὡς μόνων αὐτῷ γραφέντων μνημονεύει, ὧδέ πως λέγων·

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Παπίας ὁ Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστῆς, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἐταῖρος γεγωνῶς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βιβλίων. Ἔστι γὰρ αὐτῷ πέντε βιβλία συντεταγμένα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Εἰρηναῖος ταῦτα. Αὐτός γε μὴν ὁ Παπίας κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων, ἀκροατὴν μὲν καὶ αὐτόπτην οὐδαμῶς ἑαυτὸν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμφαίνει, παρεληφέναι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως παρὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις γνωρίμων διδάσκει, δι' ὧν φησὶ λέξεων·

Οὐκ ὀκνήσω δέ σοι καὶ ὅσα ποτὲ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καλῶς ἔμαθον καὶ καλῶς ἐμνημόνευσα, συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις, διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν. Οὐ γὰρ τοῖς τὰ πολλὰ λέγουσιν ἔχαιρον ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τάληθῃ διδάσκουσιν· οὐδὲ τοῖς τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς ἐντολὰς μνημονεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ πίστει δεδομένας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραγινομένας τῆς ἀληθείας. Εἰ δέ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας, ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν, ἢ τί Φίλιππος, ἢ τί Θωμᾶς, ἢ Ἰάκωβος· ἢ τί Ἰωάννης, ἢ Ματθαῖος, ἢ τίς ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν· ἃ τὲ

Ἀριστίων, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθηταὶ λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων τοσοῦτόν με ὠφελεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, ὅσον τὰ παρὰ ζώσης φωνῆς καὶ μενούσης.

Ἐνθα καὶ ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον δις καταριθμοῦντι αὐτῷ τὸ Ἰωάννου ὄνομα· ὦν τὸν μὲν πρότερον Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ Ματθαίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις συγκαταλέγει, σαφῶς δηλῶν τὸν εὐαγγελιστὴν· τὸν δ' ἕτερον Ἰωάννην, διαστείλας τὸν λόγον, ἐτέροις παρὰ τὸν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀριθμὸν κατατάσσει, προτάξας αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστίωνα. Σαφῶς τε αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον ὀνομάζει. Ὡς καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀληθῆ, τῶν δύο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁμωνυμῖα κεχρησθαι εἰρηκότων, δύο τε ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα, καὶ ἑκάτερον Ἰωάννου ἔτι νῦν λέγεσθαι· οἷς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. Εἰκὸς γὰρ τὸν δεύτερον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐθέλοι τὸν πρῶτον τὴν ἐπ' ὀνόματος φερομένην Ἰωαννου Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακέναι. Καὶ ὁ νῦν δὲ ἡμῖν δηλούμενος Παπίας τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγους παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς παρηκολουθηκότων ὁμολογεῖ παρεληφέναι, Ἀριστίωνος δὲ καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου αὐτήκοον ἑαυτὸν φησι γένεσθαι. Ὀνομαστὶ γοῦν πολλάκις αὐτῶν μνημονεύσας, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ συγγράμμασι τίθησιν αὐτῶν παραδόσεις. Καὶ ταῦτα δ' ἡμῖν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχρηστον εἰρήσθω. Ἀξιὸν δὲ ταῖς ἀποδοθείσαις τοῦ Παπία φωναῖς προσάφαι λέξεις ἐτέρας αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν παράδοξά τινα ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἄλλα, ὡς ἂν ἐκ παραδόσεως εἰς αὐτὸν ἔλθοντα. Τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον ἅμα ταῖς θυγατράσι διατρίψαι, διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν δεδῆλωται. Ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ Παπίας γενόμενος διήγησιν παρεληφέναι θαυμασίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Φιλίππου θυγατέρων μνημονεύει, τὰ νῦν σημειωτέον. Νεκροῦ γὰρ ἀνάστασιν κατ' αὐτὸν γεγονυῖαν ἱστορεῖ, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἕτερον παράδοξον περὶ Ἰουστον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Βαρσαβᾶν γεγονὸς, ὡς δηλητήριον φάρμακον ἐμπιόντος καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδὲς διὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου χάριν ὑπομείναντος. Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰουστον μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἀνάληψιν, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους μετὰ Ματθίᾳ στῆσαι τε καὶ ἐπεύξασθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ προδότου Ἰούδα ἐπὶ

τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἀναπληρώσεως αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ, ἢ τῶν Πράξεων ὧδέ πως ἱστορεῖ γραφή·

Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβᾶν, ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰούστος, καὶ Ματθίαν· καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπον.

Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκοντα παρατέθεται, ξένας τέ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. Ἐν οἷς καὶ χιλιάδα τινὰ φησιν ἐτῶν ἔσσεσθαι μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, σωματικῶς τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γῆς ὑποστησομένης. Ἄ καὶ ἡγοῦμαι τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παρεκδεξάμενον διηγήσεις ὑπολαβεῖν, τὰ ἐν ὑποδείγμασι πρὸς αὐτῶν μυστικῶς εἰρημένα μὴ συνεωρακότα. Σφόδρα γάρ τοι σμικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων τεκμηράμενον εἰπεῖν, φαίνεται· πλὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν πλείστοις ὅσοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῆς ὁμοίας αὐτῷ δόξης παραίτιος γέγονε, τὴν ἀρχαιότητα τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν προβεβλημένοις, ὥσπερ οὖν Εἰρηναῖον, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος τὰ ὅμοια φρονῶν ἀναπέφηνεν. Καὶ ἄλλας δὲ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ παραδίδωσιν Ἀριστίωνος τοῦ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένου τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις, καὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Ἰωάννου παραδόσεις· ἐφ' ἃς τοὺς φιλομαθεῖς ἀναπέμψαντες, ἀναγκαίως νῦν προσθήσομεν ταῖς προσεκτεθείσαις αὐτοῦ φωναῖς παράδοσιν, ἣ περὶ Μάρκου τοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον γεγραφότος ἐκτέθεται διὰ τούτων·

Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε. Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου γενομένος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μὲν τοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα. Οὐτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρον, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἡμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας· ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. Ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστόρηται τῷ Παπῖᾳ περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται·

Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο. Ἑρμῆνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωάννου προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Πέτρου ὁμοίως. Ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναικὸς, ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἦν τὸ κατ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγέλιον περιέχει.

OF THE WRITINGS OF PAPIAS.

The writings of Papias are said to have been five in number, which are also entitled "Description of our Lord's Oracles." Irenæus mentions these as the only things written by him : his words are,

Papias also, who was the hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient man, witnesses these things in writing in the fourth book of his works. For there were five books compiled by him.

These are the words of Irenæus. Papias himself, however, in the preface of his works, shews that he was by no means a hearer and witness of the holy apostles, but teaches us that he received the things of the faith from those who were known to them [the apostles]. He says,

But I will not hesitate to set down in writing to you whatever things I formerly well learnt from the elders and well remembered, maintaining the truth about them. For I did not take pleasure like most men in those who spoke the most, but in those who taught the truth, not in those who quoted the commands of others but those who delivered the commands given by our Lord in the faith and the truths that came from it. But if by chance any one came who had followed the elders, I examined the words of the elders, what says Andrew, or Peter, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples ? and what Aristion and the elder John, our Lord's disciples, say. For I did not consider that what came out of books would benefit me so much as what came from the living and abiding voice.

In this passage we may dwell one moment on the fact that the name of John is there twice mentiond. The former of them he classes with Peter and James, and Matthew and the other apostles, plainly indicating the evangelist. But the other John, after an interval of some words, he includes among those others who were over and above the number of the apostles, placing him after Aristion. He also plainly names him an elder. So that by these words is shewn to be true the statement of those who have said that there were two who bore the same name in Asia, and that there were two monuments in Ephesus, each of which is said to be that of John. These things are worthy of consideration. For it is probable that the second, if one is not disposed to allow that it was the first, saw the revelation which passes under the name of John. But Papias, of whom we are now

speaking, acknowledges that he received the words of the apostles from those who were their followers : and he says that he was an actual hearer of Aristion and of John the elder. He at least mentions them often by name, and in his writings gives their traditions. So far then may what I have said be not said fruitlessly. But it is worth while to add to the sayings of Papias which have been related, other sentences of his, in which he records some other marvellous things, as having come to him by tradition. The story of Philip the apostle having stopped with his daughters at Hierapolis, has already been related. But how Papias tells us that he was in their company and heard a recital of marvellous events from Philip's daughters, I will now particularize. He relates the resurrection of a dead man that took place where he was ; and again another miracle that happened to Justus surnamed Barsabas, how he drank a rank poison and by the grace of the Lord suffered no harm. This was the Justus, whom, after the resurrection of our Lord, the holy apostles set up with Matthias and prayed over them, for the drawing of lots to fill up their number in the stead of the traitor Judas ; as the book of the Acts thus describes it :

And they appointed two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias : and they prayed and said.

Other things also hath the same [Papias] set forth as having come to him by unwritten tradition, both some strange parables of our Saviour, and teachings of his, and some other mythical things. Among which also he says that there will be a thousand years [MILLENNIUM] after the resurrection from the dead, when Christ will reign bodily upon this earth. This idea I suppose he formed, from having received the apostolical descriptions, not understanding the things which were said by them mystically by way of examples. For he appears to have been a very little-minded man, if we may conjecture from his works ; except in the judgment of the greatest part of ecclesiastical writers who came after him, to whom he was in part the cause of their having the same opinion as himself, and who sheltered themselves under the man, such as Irenæus, and others if there be any, who shewed that they held the same opinions. But in his own writings he delivers also other descriptions of our Lord's sayings which he got from Aristion already mentioned, and traditions of John the elder : to which we refer those who are desirous of knowing more about them : at present we find it necessary to add to those sayings of his which have been already explained, a tradition respecting Mark who wrote the gospel, which is thus worded :

And this the elder said. Mark became the expounder of Peter, and wrote accurately whatever

he delivered, not indeed in a regular order, such things as were either said or done by Christ. For he was neither a hearer nor a follower of Christ. But afterwards, as I said, he followed Peter, who delivered his teachings as occasion served, but did not make a regular arrangement of our Lord's words : so that Mark made no error, thus writing some things as he delivered them. For he took forethought of one thing, not to leave out anything of what he heard, or to make a mistake about any thing therein.

These things are related by Papias about Mark. But about Matthew these are his words :

Matthew, then, in the Hebrew dialect wrote the oracles : and each person interpreted them as he was able.

The same man uses testimonies from the former epistle of John and likewise from that of Peter. He sets forth, also, another history, concerning the woman, who was charged with many sins before our Lord, and which is contained in the gospel according to the Hebrews.

It is clear from this account of Papias given by Eusebius, who lived about 320, that not one of Paley's assertions about him is correct. The evidence indeed, which we have about him, is mostly at second-hand : Eusebius and Irenæus differ in their accounts of him : the latter says that Papias was a hearer of John ; Eusebius denies this, and proves by the testimony of Papias himself that he was not contemporary with the apostles but received the rudiments of the faith from an intermediate generation. Neither does Papias " expressly ascribe the respective gospels to Matthew and Mark." On the contrary, he tells us that Matthew wrote a gospel in the Hebrew language ; and there is no proof that the Greek gospel, now extant, is a translation from a Hebrew original. This explanation rests purely upon conjecture, and cannot be supported by any figure of logic whatever. In the absence of positive proof, we may be allowed to indulge in a harmless conjecture, but not to erect that conjecture into a certainty, or to build an inference and a theory upon so weak a foundation.

The notice of St Mark bears a sense still more opposed to that which Paley has attributed to it. Papias tells us that Mark gathered up the various stories which dropped from the mouth of

Peter, he did not make a regular arrangement of our Lord's words, but "writing some things as he [*Peter*] delivered them." This shews that the gospel according to St Mark, which we now have, is not the work which was compiled by St Mark : for it *is* a "regular arrangement of our Lord's words," it *is* written in a regular order," and not a collection of anecdotes, written down promiscuously, as they fell from the mouth of Peter. It is highly probable that all the four gospels now in existence were compiled out of such scraps as had been gathered from the first apostles, and handed down by tradition : but there is no evidence to show that the four gospels were, any of them, written by the apostles themselves.

One word more, and we shall have done with Papias. Granting, for the moment, that he alludes pointedly, in the extracts quoted from Eusebius, to those very gospels which we still have, bearing the names of Matthew and of John : why has Paley passed over in silence the Gospel of the Hebrews, which Papias mentions with quite as much respect as those of Matthew and Mark ? The argument proves too much ; for, if the words of Papias shew the early existence of the canonical gospels, they also show that the uncanonical ones were equally ancient ; and it leaves us in a most distressing state of embarrassment if we attempt to distinguish the one from the other.

CHAPTER VIII.

JUSTIN MARTYR—IRENÆUS—CELSUS.

The second century of our era opens with a generation of men, none of whom, in all probability, had conversed with the disciples and first followers of our Lord. It is not to be denied that an intermediate race, who had associated with St Paul, may have connected the apostles with the age of which we are about to speak.

But this has no bearing upon the question of the Gospel histories. If, during the seventy years which passed between the crucifixion, A. D. 30, and the year 100, it cannot be shewn that those identical works were actually in existence, but merely the doctrines and the sayings of Christ, which they contain, were current in tradition only, it is a moral certainty that such deviations as we actually find between one gospel and another in relating the same fact, would assuredly take place. The total absence of all allusion to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in the Apostolical Fathers, who alone were prior to A. D. 100, justifies us in saying that those Fathers were not aware of there being such books, as the four evangelical histories: but their existence is inseparable from their being well known to those Fathers; we cannot for an instant suppose that those men could have been ignorant of such records, —writings of such vital import to their religion, in comparison with which all their ties were as nothing in their sight.

Neither would the freshness of the Christian miracles, and their currency in tradition, call off the attention of the public, much less of their teachers, from the writings in which all those miracles were related by eye-witnesses. We find, on the contrary, by our own experience, that the freshness of a fact gives vogue to the most trivial history in which it is related, so much so that the general estimate of it derives a colouring from the mode in which it is first published to the world in writing, and loses many of the traits by which it was marked in the reality. It is, therefore, from the most weighty reasons which the case will admit of, that we come to the conclusion already stated, that the gospels were not yet reduced to the form, which they now bear, at the beginning of the second century of our era.

If we pursue the investigation further than this date, the same striking peculiarity, which is so evident in the writers of the first century, forces itself on our notice in the beginning of the second. Reference is still made, not to any book in which Christ's doctrines are to be found, but to the doctrines as floating on the wings of tradition.

The writers of the second century are Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Hegesippus, besides the fragments of Papias, which have been examined in the last chapter, with a few remains of Quadratus and perhaps one or two others.

It is much to be regretted that the indiscreet zeal of the early Christians, or the cupidity of copyists—for the true origin of the evil has not been clearly ascertained—should have led to the fabrication of so many writings, ascribed to men of talents and piety, that difficulties spring up before us at almost every step, and envelope the works of the early Fathers in a cloud of doubt and mystery almost impenetrable. This evil, which in the case of the Apostolical Fathers led to its own remedy by the ill-judged length to which its authors carried their audacity, becomes, in the second century, more limited in its dimensions and therefore the more uncertain and dangerous in its results.

The process of elimination, which gradually reduced the so-called writings of the first century from two folio volumes to fifty slender pages, would, in the case of any other, profane, works, have prepared the enquirer for casting from him with disgust the small remnant, even if not fully convicted of spuriousness—for there is no other case in record of so wide a disproportion between what is genuine and what is spurious. When nine-tenths of a book has been set aside as worthless, it has hardly ever been thought worth while to deal delicately with the remainder. Like the *Æsopic* fable, which tells us that the solitary and perhaps innocent goose suffered for his companionship with the more destruction crane, so, also, human tribunals are not over sensitive about the fate of a single criminal found in company with notorious and convicted offenders.

The evil, we have observed, follows us into the very middle of the second century; for of the writings ascribed to Justin Martyr and to Irenæus more than half are acknowledged forgeries. This will be evident from the following list of them.

The latest and best edition of Justin Martyr's works is by Otto,

3 vols 8vo Jenæ, 1848. The first volume contains the *Opera Indubitata* or *Undoubted Works* of Justin, which are these :

1. Apologia Major, ad Antoninum Pium—Greater Apology, addressed to Antoninus Pius.
2. Apologia Minor, ad Senatum Romanum—Lesser Apology, addressed to the Roman Senate.
3. Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo—Dialogue with Trypho the Jew.

Volume II contains the *Opera Addubitata* or *Doubtful Works* :

1. Oratio ad Gentiles—Address to the Gentiles.
2. Cohortatio ad Gentiles—Exhortation to the Gentiles.
3. De Monarchia—On Monarchy.
4. Epistola ad Diognetum—Epistle to Diognetus :

Volume III contains the *Opera Subditiicia* or *Spurious Works*.

1. Expositio Rectæ Fidei—Exposition of the True Faith.
2. Epistola ad Zenam et Serenum.
3. Confutatio dogmatum quorundam Aristotelis—Refutation of certain dogmas of Aristotle.
4. Quæstiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos—Questions and Answers, addressed to the Orthodox.
5. Quæstiones Christianorum ad Gentiles—Questions from Christians to the Gentiles.
6. Quæstiones Gentilium ad Christianos—Questions from the Gentiles to Christians.

This list shews that more than half of the works once ascribed to Justin Martyr are either doubtful or actually spurious. These must, then, be set aside altogether ; for they were no doubt written long after the time of Justin, when his authority as an ancient of the church was great, and the pious but fraudulent wish to support its dogmas by the weight of his name tempted dishonest men to forge such writings—or, perhaps, the pecuniary value of his works allured the avarice of copyists to multiply works and to pass them off upon the world as his.

Let us then confine our remarks to those parts of Justin Martyr which are held to be undoubtedly genuine. These occupy 770 pages in the first volume of the latest editor : but, as every

alternate page is filled with the Latin translation, we must reduce that number to about 385. A further diminution of one-third must be made for the notes, and we shall have about 260 octavo pages as the extent of the writings of Justin Martyr, now extant.

We must now turn our attention to the mode in which these remains have been used to support the alleged authenticity of the gospels, and their contemporaneousness with the facts which they contain.

In the *Evidences of Christianity*, chap. ix § 1, we find the following use made of Justin Martyr's works :

Although the nature of his two principal writings, one of which was addressed to heathens, and the other was a conference with a Jew, did not lead him to such frequent appeals to Christian books, as would have appeared in a discourse intended for Christian readers ; we nevertheless reckon up in them between twenty and thirty quotations of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, certain, distinct, and copious : if each verse be counted separately, a much greater number, if each expression, a very great one.

We meet with quotations of three of the gospels within the compass of half a page.—“And in other words he says, Depart from me into outer darkness, which the Father hath prepared for Satan and his angels,” (which is from Matthew, xxv, 41). “And again he said in other words, I give unto you power to tread upon serpents, and scorpions, and venomous beasts, and upon all the power of the enemy.” (This from Luke x, 19). “And before he was crucified, he said, The Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the Scribes and Pharisees, and be crucified, and rise again the third day.” (This from Mark viii, 31).

In another place, Justin quotes a passage in the history of Christ's birth, as delivered by Matthew and John, and fortifies his quotation by this remarkable testimony : “As they have taught, who have written the history of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ ; and we believe them.” Quotations are also found from the Gospel of Saint John.

What, moreover, seems extremely material to be observed is, that in all Justin's works, from which might be extracted almost a complete life of Christ, there are but two instances in which he refers to any thing as said or done by Christ, which is not related concerning him in our present Gospels : which shews, that these Gospels, and these, we may say, alone, were the authorities from which the Christians of that day drew the information upon which they depended. One of these instances is of a saying

of Christ, not met with in any book now extant. † The other, of a circumstance in Christ's baptism, namely, a fiery or luminous appearance upon the water, which, according to Ephiianus, is noticed in the Gospel of the Hebrews: and which might be true: but which, whether true or false, is mentioned by Justin, with a plain mark of diminution when compared with what he quotes as resting upon Scripture authority. The reader will advert to this distinction: "And then, when Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as Jesus descended into the water, a fire also was kindled in Jordan; and when he came up out of the water, THE APOSTLES OF THIS OUR CHRIST HAVE WRITTEN, that the Holy Ghost lighted upon him as a dove."

All the references in Justin are made without mentioning the author; which proves that these books were perfectly notorious, and that there were no other accounts of Christ then extant, or at least, no others so received and credited as to make it necessary to distinguish these from the rest.

But, although Justin mentions not the author's name, he calls the books, "Memoirs composed by the Apostles and their Companions;" which descriptions, the latter especially, exactly suit with the titles which the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles now bear.

From this notice of Justin Martyr, the hasty reader might be led to infer that the books of the New Testament were, at all events in Justin's time, perfectly well known and formed into a canon, as we now have them, to the exclusion of all other unrecognized Gospels, of which a great number were even then or within a few years known to be in being. Here then at last, he would infer, must a limit be placed to those speculations which ascribed to them a later origin than the age of the apostles themselves. The testimony of Justin Martyr who wrote his Apology for the Chris-

† PALEY HERE ADDS THIS NOTE:—"Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ has said, In whatsoever I shall find you, in the same I will also judge you." Possibly Justin intended not to quote any text, but to represent the sense of many of our Lord's sayings. Fabricius has observed, that this saying has been quoted by many writers, and that Justin is the only one who ascribes it to our Lord, and that perhaps by a slip of his memory.

Words resembling these are read repeatedly in Ezekiel: "I will judge them according to their ways;" (chap. vii, 3. xxxiii, 20.) It is remarkable that Justin had just before expressly quoted Ezekiel. Mr Jones upon this circumstance founded a conjecture, that Justin wrote only "the Lord hath said," intending to quote the words of God, or rather the sense of those words in Ezekiel; and that some transcriber, imagining these to be the words of Christ, inserted in his copy the addition "Jesus Christ." Vol. i, p. 539.

tians in A. D. 151, * must remove all doubt that the four evangelic histories were already in his time the basis of Christian teaching and the exclusive record of Christ's life and miracles. Such, too, was my own conclusion,—for this is not an argument to be handled by a debater or mere advocate, who does not feel the truth and the force of the doubt which he propounds: it is of momentous import to all, that the exact value and character of our religious books should be ascertained, and that those who write on the subject should declare their own convictions as to the truth; for where so many feel painfully and bitterly that ignorance is not bliss, it surely is not “folly to be wise.” Such, I repeat, was my own opinion of the origin of the gospels, almost down to the moment that this page is passing through the press. Taking for granted, the report made by Lardner, and from him copied, with all artistic effect, into the *Evidences of Christianity*, I had never—(and I may ask Who has ?)—compared the report with the original witnesses; and never felt a misgiving that statements could, even unintentionally, be so perverted. The works of Justin Martyr do not fall in the way of one in a hundred thousand of our countrymen. How is it then to be deprecated that erroneous statements should pass current about him! How is it to be censured that his testimony should be changed and he should be made to speak a falsehood! Does he once name a single writer of the eight, who are said to have written the books of the New Testament? No:—the very names of the evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, are never mentioned by him—do not occur once in all his works. It is therefore childish to say that he has quoted from our existing gospels, and so proves their existence, as they now are, in his own time. It is *possible* that they were then in being; but, if so, they did not pass under the names by which they are now known, nor were they held in the same estimation as now: or they would certainly have been

* See Clinton's *Fasti Romani*.

quoted, not vaguely, but specifically, by Justin Martyr. That they were “perfectly notorious,” and Justin therefore has not named their authors, is a rhetorical flourish on the part of Paley; for Justin has not even named the books themselves, much less their writers. He has nowhere remarked, like those fathers of the church who lived several ages after him, that there are *four gospels* of higher importance and estimation than any others, forming a canon of Christianity, so that whatever was not read therein or might be proved thereby, was not required of any man to be believed as an article of Christian faith. All this was the creation of a later age, but is wanting in Justin Martyr, and the defect leads us to the conclusion that our four gospels had not then emerged from obscurity, but were still, if in being, confounded with a larger mass of Christian traditions which about this very time were beginning to be set down in writing. The age of Justin Martyr, we must remember, was the very age, in which the unscrupulous Peregrinus, whose history is given by Lucian, † professed himself a Christian, and beat the Christians at their own weapons,—expounded their books for them—wrote others himself, and ended by deserting their brotherhood as hastily as he had entered it. The age of Justin Martyr was the age when books would naturally begin to be written; for the obscurity of the first generation of Christians had given way to a more flourishing condition. The sect was emerging into consequence, and it behoved them to collect together their traditions and to store them up for the use of future times. A multitude of Gospels, Acts of different Apostles, Epistles, and Revelations then swarmed into life. Many of these have come down either wholly or in substance to our times; and Justin Martyr has actually mentioned facts and sayings of Christ which are found in such uncanonical gospels only. These assertions must now be substantiated by a more close examination of

† See, back, at page 47.

the works which are believed to be his genuine productions.

1. *Justin Martyr never once mentions by name the evangelists Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.*

This circumstance is of great importance; for those who assert that our four canonical gospels are contemporary records of our Saviour's ministry, ascribe them to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and to no other writers. In this they are in a certain sense consistent; for contemporary writings are very rarely anonymous. If so, how could they be proved to be contemporary? Justin Martyr, it must be remembered, wrote in 150, but neither he nor any writer before him has alluded, in the most remote degree, to four specific gospels bearing the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Let those who think differently, produce the passages in which such mention is to be found.

2. *Justin Martyr never, if we except an interpolated passage,* mentions even any book called a gospel.*

This fact also is most significant. All our four canonical records are termed *gospels*, and have no other name: *εὐαγγέλιου* is the term, not only universally given to these four books, but expressly invented to describe that class of history, which relates the life and miracles of Christ. That this name nowhere occurs for 150 years, is a strong argument that it did not exist, or at least was not in general circulation.

3. *Justin Martyr several times alludes to Memorials of the apostles, 'Απομνημονεύματα 'Αποστόλων, in general terms, without the slightest indication of their number, nature, or extent.*

Six passages are here given, with an English translation.

1. (vol. I, p. 86, ed. Otto.)

"*Ἀγγελος Θεοῦ εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτὴν, εἰπὼν · 'Ιδοὺ, συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν, καὶ υἱὸς ὑψίστου κληθήσεται, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ 'Ιησοῦν · αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ*

* *'Απομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια*, Ap. 1, c. 66, Schleiermacher pointed out that this is an instance of a gloss or side note, which had crept into the text. *Εὐγγελίῳ* in Dial. c. 10, and in c. 100, means 'the gospel-history.'

ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν. [See Luke 1, 31—35; Mat. 1, 21.]

An angel of God brought to her the glad tidings, saying, "Behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb by the Holy Spirit, and bring forth a son, and he shall be called Son of the Highest, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins, as those have taught, who have recorded all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ.

2. (vol. I, p. 158.)

Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρῃ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. Ἐῖτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. Ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. Καί, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται. Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρεῖᾳ οὖσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέραν κοινῇ πάντες τὴν συνέλευσιν ποιούμεθα, ἐπειδὴ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἡμέρα, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Θεὸς τὸ σκότος καὶ τὴν ὕλην τρέψας κόσμον ἐποίησε, καὶ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτὴρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνέστη· τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν Κρονικὴν, ἣτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανεῖς τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα ἅπερ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ ὑμῖν ἀνεδώκαμεν.

On the day called the day of the Sun a meeting in one place is held, of all who dwell in the cities or the country; and the memorials of the apostles

or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as it is convenient. Then when the reader has done, the president, in a speech, makes an admonition and exhortation to imitate these good men. Then we stand up all of us together and send forth prayers. And, when we have ended the prayer, as we said before, bread, and wine, and water are brought, and the president utters at the same time prayers and thanksgivings, as well as he is able, and the people give assent saying Amen, and the distribution and partaking of the things blessed is made to each, and is sent to those who are absent, by means of the attendants [DEACONS]. Those who are well off and willing give each at his own option what he chooses, and the money collected is placed before the president, who gives assistance to both orphans and widows, and to those who are behind-hand from illness or any other cause, and to those who are in bonds, and to strangers resident among them, and, generally, he aids all who are in need. We all in common come to the meeting on the day of the Sun, since it is the first day, on which God, having changed darkness and matter, made the world, and Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead on the same day : for they crucified him on the day before Saturn's day, and on the day after Saturn's day, which is the day of the Sun, appearing to his apostles and disciples he taught these things which we have given out to you also for consideration.

3. (vol. I, p. 358.)

Καὶ γὰρ ἀποδιδούς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπε • Πάτερ, εἰς χεῖράς σου παρατίθεμαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου • ὥς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων καὶ τοῦτο ἔμαθον. Καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερβάλλειν τὴν Φαρισαίων πολιτείαν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ συνωθῶν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι οὐ σωθήσονται, ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι γέγραπται. Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλεῖον τῶν γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. [See Mat. 5, 20.]

For also when giving up his breath on the cross, he said, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit," as also I learnt this also from the Memorials. For it is written in the Memorials that when urging his disciples to surpass the system of the Pharisees, or, if not, to be assured that they would not be saved, he said to them these words : "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven."

4. (vol. I, p. 361.)

Μετ' αὐτῶν διάγων ὕμνησε τὸν Θεόν, ὥς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνη-

μονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων δηλοῦται γεγενημένον, &c. . . .
 . . . Καὶ τὸ εἰπεῖν μετωνομακέναι αὐτὸν Πέτρον ἓνα τῶν ἀπο-
 στόλων, καὶ γεγράφθαι ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν αὐτοῦ γεγενη-
 μένον καὶ τοῦτο, μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἄλλους δύο ἀδελφούς, υἱοὺς
 Ζεβεδαίου ὄντας, μετωνομακέναι ὀνόματι τοῦ Βοανεργες, ὃ
 ἐστὶν υἱὸς βροντῆς, σημαντικὸν ἦν τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐκείνους εἶναι, δι'
 οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐπώνυμον Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπικληθέντι ἐδόθη.

Being with them he sang a hymn to God, as also is shewn to have been done in the Memorials of the apostles &c. . . . and that he changed the name of one of his disciples to Peter, this also is written in his Memorials, together with his also changing the names of two other brethren, sons of Zebedee, calling them Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder.

This last extract is peculiar for having not *αὐτῶν* *their* memorials, i. e. the memorials of the apostles, but *αὐτοῦ* *his* memorials; and it is doubtful whether the memorials of Peter, or of Christ are meant. The learned editor Otto says that, if six hundred manuscripts were in favour of the common reading *αὐτοῦ*, he would alter it to *αὐτῶν*. This bold style of criticism is certainly convenient for those who adjust facts to theories, but not for those who adapt their theories to facts. As *αὐτοῦ* and not *αὐτῶν* is the actual reading, we must infer that either Peter's memorials or Christ's memorials are here spoken of. If Peter's, no such book was ever known to exist: if Christ's, the expression is too vague to designate the four canonical gospels, and may refer to the uncanonical writings or to any traditionary accounts.

5. (vol. I, p. 362.)

Ἀνατείλαντος οὖν καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀστέρος, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀρράβιας μάγοι, ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγνόντες, παρεγένοντο καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ.

The star then having appeared in the heaven at the time of his birth, as is written in the memorials of his apostles, the magi of Arabia, knowing from this, came and worshipped him.

6. (vol. I, p. 362.)

Καὶ ὅτι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἔμελλεν ἀναστήσεσθαι μετὰ τὸ σταυρωθῆναι, γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν συζητοῦντες αὐτῷ ἔλεγον, ὅτι Δείξον ἡμῖν σημεῖον. Καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς· Γενέα πονηρὰ καὶ μοιχαλὶς σημεῖον ἐπιζητεῖ, καὶ σημεῖον οὐ δοθήσεται αὐτοῖς εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ.

And because he was to rise from the dead on the third day after his crucifixion, it is written in the memorials, that those of your nation questioning him, said Shew us a sign. And he answered to them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to them, but the sign of Jonas.

4. *Justin Martyr has nowhere mentioned any of the Epistles, nor even once named Paul or any other of the apostles, except one slight remark that Christ changed Simon's name to Peter.*

This is a fact not to be overlooked: not even the Epistles, which bear the names of Paul, Peter, James, John and Jude, nor any of their writers, are ever once mentioned by Justin Martyr. Is not this a sign that the distinctness, into which these works with the names of their writers, have been brought, is the result of a development which had hardly begun in the time of Justin Martyr? Even the change of Peter's name to Simon, so briefly noticed in the extract quoted in page 76, confirms this view of the gradual growth of our gospels out of primitive traditions.

5. *Justin Martyr has, in a remarkable passage, named one John, to whom a revelation was made by God, in terms shewing plainly that Justin Martyr knew less about the canon of the New Testament than we do.*

Καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἰς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένη αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσκειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφῆτευσεν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ, συνελόντι φάναι, αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν. Ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι Οὔτε

γαμήσουσιν οὔτε γαμηθήσονται, ἀλλ' ἰσάγγελοι ἔσονται, τέκνα τοῦ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ὄντες. (vol. 1, p. 282.) [See Rev. ap. 20, 4, 6.]

And then among us also, A CERTAIN MAN, whose name was John, one of the apostles of Christ, in A REVELATION MADE TO HIM, prophesied that those who believed on our Christ would spend a thousand years in Jerusalem, and after this would be the general, and to speak briefly, the eternal resurrection and judgment of all men; which also our Lord has said, They shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but shall be equal to the angels, being the children of the God of the resurrection.

Is this the language of a writer who regarded "*the* Revelation not *a* revelation of St John the Divine" as a portion of the Holy word of God, distinct from all other revelations whatever? Does Justin Martyr speak of the favourite apostle John in these unseemly terms as *a certain man*, "one John" as we might render it? Surely the zeal of the commentators has greatly damaged the blessed books of the New Testament by asserting that the early fathers quoted them in such disparaging terms as these! Surely if the books of the New Testament are really inspired works, the very pupils and contemporaries of Christ himself would not mention them in such language as this, only to shew in how little esteem they held them. We, "who have not seen and yet have believed," are more true disciples of our heavenly master, than those who saw, and shewed their belief by employing such unfaithful terms to describe the written repositories of their faith! Great is God and his rule is over all: by the inspiration of his spirit do we live, move and have our being, and write books on all subjects from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that groweth upon the wall—But, if his Spirit dictated in heaven-sent dialect to his inspired apostles every word textually of those gospels, acts, epistles, and the Revelation too, alas for the hardness of Justin Martyr's heart, that he should designate the last of these books, as *a revelation*, made to *a certain* John, one of the apostles of our blessed Master!

6. *Justin Martyr has in six instances—not two only, as Paley*

erroneously states—quoted sayings of Christ, or events of Christ's life, which do not occur in our gospels, but were found in other uncanonical writings.

The six instances here follow :

1. Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνου εἰστήκει ἔν τινι εἰσόδῳ κώμης πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδέμενος. [vol. 1, p. 82.]

For an ass's foal was standing at a certain entrance to a village, tied to a vine.

That the foal was *tied*, is apparent from the canonical gospel, but that it was tied to a *vine* no where appears in our books ; Justin Martyr obtained this additional fact from some other source, perhaps from tradition.

2. Καὶ γὰρ, ὡς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, διασύροντες αὐτὸν ἐκάθισαν ἐπὶ βήματος καὶ εἶπον· Κρίνον ἡμῖν. (vol. 1, p. 90.)

For also, as said the prophet, mocking him, they placed him on a tribunal, and said, " Give judgment for us."

Our gospels relate that the soldiers platted a crown of thorns for Jesus, and placed a reed by way of sceptre in his hand : but they are silent about his being placed on a tribunal or judgment seat. Yet this very natural completion of their mockery no doubt was related in some other of the numerous gospels not admitted into the canon.

3. Διὸ καὶ ἡμέτερος Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ. (vol. 1, p. 156.)

Wherefore also our Lord Jesus Christ said, " In whatsoever things I shall apprehend you, in those also will I judge you."

This saying of Christ occurs nowhere in our gospels, but was no doubt to be found somewhere or other, in Justin Martyr's time, or he would not have quoted it. Grotius and others think that it is taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

4. Γεννηθέντος δὲ τότε τοῦ παιδίου ἐν Βηθλεὲμ, ἐπειδὴ Ἰωσήφ οὐκ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐκείνῃ που καταλύσαι, ἐν σπηλαίῳ τινὶ

σύνεγγυς τῆς κόμης κατέλυσε· καὶ τότε, αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ ἐτετόκει ἡ Μαρία τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ αὐτὸν ἐτεθείκει, ὅπου ἐλθόντες οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀράβιας μάγοι εὗρον αὐτόν. [vol. 1, pt 2, p. 268.]

The child then being born in Bethlehem, when Joseph had no place to put up at in that village, he put up in a cave near the village, and then, whilst they were there, Mary brought forth Christ, and placed him in a manger, where those who came from Arabia found him.

In this extract we recognize a particular of Christ's history, related not by either of the canonical gospels, but by *Protevangelium Jacobi*, *Historia Josephi*, *Evangelium Infantiae*, and *Historia de Nativitate Mariæ*, all, apocryphal works,* not received by the Church.

5. Καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν ἔνθα ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐβάπτιζε, κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸ, ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. [vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 306.]

And then when Jesus had gone to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, Jesus having gone down into the water, both a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and when he came up from the water, the apostles of this same our Christ have written that the holy spirit lighted upon him like a dove.

This kindling of a fire in Jordan, is evidently a fact not to be gathered from the canonical gospels: Justin Martyr read it in one of the numerous uncanonical works with which the early ages of Christianity abounded. It was found among others, in *Prædicatio Pauli* 'The preaching of Paul', a work now lost; in the Gospel of the Ebionites, mentioned by Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 30, § 13; and in the Sibylline Oracles, a work still extant, Lib. VII, 81—83.

* All these are to be found in *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 2 vols 8vo, apud D. Nutt, London, 1852.

Πρὸς οὓς καὶ αὐτὸς (Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστῆς) ἐβόα. Οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος· ἥξει γὰρ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμι ἰκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι. Καὶ ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, καὶ νομιζομένου Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱοῦ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ αἰδουῦς, ὡς αἱ γραφαὶ ἐκήρυσσον, φαινομένου, καὶ τέκτονος νομιζομένου (ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ τεκτονικὰ ἔργα εἰργάζετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὢν, ἄροτρα καὶ ζυγὰ, διὰ τούτων καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης σύμβολα διδάσκων καὶ ἐνεργῇ βίῳ), τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς προέφην, ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς ἐπέπτη αὐτῷ, καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἅμα ἐληλύθει, ἥτις καὶ διὰ Δαυὶδ λεγομένη, ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅπερ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐμελλε λέγεσθαι· Υἱός μου εἰ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐξότου ἡ γνῶσις αὐτοῦ ἐμελλε γίνεσθαι. [vol. 1, pt 2, p. 308] See Luke 3, 22.

To whom also he [John the Baptist] cried out, "I am not the Christ, but the voice of one crying : for there shall come he who is stronger than I, whose shoes I am not able to carry." And Jesus having come to the Jordan, and being thought to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and appearing uncomely, as the scriptures foretold, and being thought to be a carpenter (for whilst he was among men he made these works of a carpenter, ploughs and yokes, teaching by means of them tokens of justice and an active life), the holy spirit also, for man's sake, as I said before, lighted on him in the shape of a dove, and a voice came at the same time from heaven, which also was spoken by David, as saying in his person what was about to be addressed to him by the Father, "Thou art my son ; this day have I begotten thee," meaning that he was then born to men, when their knowledge of him first began.

That our Saviour was the son of a carpenter is known from our canonical gospels, but that he himself worked at that trade is related in two of the uncanonical writings, namely the "Gospel of our Saviour's Infancy," *Evangelium Infantiae*, &c. and the "Gospel of St Thomas," *Evangelium Thomæ Israelitæ*. In the latter, *ploughs* and *yokes* are especially named as the articles which he was occupied in making ; and it is not unlikely that Justin Martyr quoted the fact from this very uncanonical gospel of St Thomas.

The quotations, which we have thus minutely examined, lead us to believe that Justin Martyr draws from many sources, some of which are now no longer in being, and not from the four gospels only. Indeed he appears not to have known that there were four and four only authentic records of our Saviour's teaching. This view will be confirmed if we find that the sayings of Christ which he quotes are not in exactly the same words as we read in our existing four gospels. This is actually the case. In hardly a single instance does he quote the exact words which we find in Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, but rather the same in substance; and in some cases we cannot find any single sentence in our four gospels corresponding even in sense with the words of Justin Martyr, but are obliged to form a compound of words brought together from two or more of the canonical gospels.

This seems to prove that Justin quotes the sayings from the current traditions of the day, and from a variety of memorials relating the deeds of Christ and his apostles. Nor is it to be wondered at that Christ's expressions should be remarkably similar in these different traditions and narratives, for they were peculiarly adapted for being remembered.

In the First Apology, said to have been addressed to the Roman emperor, Antonius Pius, Justin himself notices their short and pithy character:

Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν· οὐ γὰρ σοφιστῆς ὑπῆρχεν· ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἦν.
 APOL. I, § 14.

The sayings that came from him were short and concise: for he was not a sophist, but his word was the power of a god.

This peculiarity, it must be observed, rendered it easy for Christ's sayings to be preserved and handed down to posterity, as we find they were, with very little verbal disagreement—and yet disagreeing slightly, as we, in fact, read them, in the four gospels, in Justin Martyr, and elsewhere.

I shall now copy word for word the first ten sentences of Justin Martyr, which seem to be taken from our four gospels, and place in parallel columns the passages of similar import, from Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, which Justin Martyr is said to have quoted. The object of this comparison will be to shew that Justin Martyr gives us Christ's sayings in their traditionary forms and not in the words which are found in our four gospels: it is evident that this argument addresses itself to the learned reader alone: as the identity of quotation can be proved or disproved, not in a translation, but in the original language only.

1.

[Περὶ μὲν οὖν σωφροσύνης τοσοῦτον εἶπεν · Ὁς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ γυναικὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς ἥδη ἐμοίχευσε τῇ καρδίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ.

The same sentiment is found in Matthew, v, 28, but the words are different:

Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Why did Justin Martyr write Ὁς ἂν ἐμβλέψῃ, when, if he had St Matthew's gospel before him, he might with more ease and accuracy have written Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων? Why also has he omitted αὐτήν and added παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, if he might have cited the passage more correctly from St Matthew's gospel, then lying before him? The solution is that he cites a well known saying, current in tradition and perhaps also in numberless brief documents handed down as records of what Christ had said and taught.

2.

Εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκκοψον αὐτόν · συμφέρει γάρ σοι μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν δύο πεμφθῆναι εἰς τὸ αἰώνιον πῦρ.

This passage is very like to Matthew v, 29:

Εἰ [δὲ] ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ὁ δεξιὸς σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτόν,

καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· συμφέρει γάρ σοι, ἵνα ἀπόληται ἐν τῶν μελῶν σου, καὶ μὴ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου βληθῇ εἰς γέενναν.

But it is also like Matthew xviii, 9 :

Εἰ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔξελε αὐτόν, καὶ βάλε ἀπὸ σοῦ· καλόν σοι ἐστὶ μονόφθαλμον εἰς τὴν ζωὴν εἰσελθεῖν, ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

And it bears an equal likeness to Mark, ix, 47 :

Ἐὰν ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου σκανδαλίζει σε, ἔκβαλε αὐτόν· καλόν σοι ἐστὶ μονόφθαλμον εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἢ δύο ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντα βληθῆναι εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός.

Yet, strange to say, it is not identical in words with either of the three.

3.

‘Ὅς γαμεῖ ἀπολελυμένην ἀφ’ ἐτέρου ἀνδρὸς μοιχᾶται.

Matthew and Luke may be compared, but only to detect a difference :

Matt. v, 32. Ὅς ἐάν ἀπολελυμένην γαμήσῃ, μοιχᾶται.

Luke xvi, 18. Πᾶς ὁ ἀπολελυμένην ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς γαμῶν, μοιχεύει.

4.

Εἰσὶ τινες οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ ἐγεννήθησαν εὐνούχοι, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· πλὴν οὐ πάντες τοῦτο χωροῦσιν.

This is a paraphrase rather than a quotation of the following in St Matthew’s Gospel.

Matt. xix, 12. Εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐνούχοι, οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτω· καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνούχοι, οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ εἰσιν εὐνούχοι, οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρεῖτω.

5.

[*Εἶπε δὲ οὕτως ·*] *Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.*

These words are found in three of the canonical gospels :

Matt. ix, 13. <i>Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.</i>	Mark. ii, 19. <i>Οὐκ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.</i>	Luke v, 32. <i>Οὐκ ἐλήλυθα καλέσαι δικαίους, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετάνοιαν.</i>
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In this only instance is there a perfect agreement between the words of Justin and the canonical gospels, three of which, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, give the same saying of Christ in the same words. A variety of thoughts here rush upon the mind. Are these three gospels based upon a common document? If so, is not Justin Martyr's citation drawn from the same anonymous document, rather than from the three gospels, seeing that he does not name them? If, on the other hand, Justin has cited them accurately in this instance, why has he failed to do so in the others? For no other reason than that traditionary sayings are generally thus irregularly exact or inexact, and Justin, citing from them, has been as irregularly exact as they were.

6.

[*Περὶ δὲ τοῦ στέργειν ἅπαντας ταῦτα ἐδίδαξεν.*] *Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε ; καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόρνοι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν.*

MATT. v, 46. <i>Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀγαπήσητε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε ; οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι ;</i>	LUKE vi, 32. <i>Εἰ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστί ; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας αὐτοὺς ἀγαπῶσι.</i>
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7.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω · Εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ

ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ εὐχέσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

MATT. v, 44. Ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν, εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ὑμᾶς.

LUKE vi, 27. Ἀλλ' ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν · καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν ὑμᾶς · εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν · προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς.

8.

[Εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινωνεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς δόξαν ποιεῖν ταῦτα ἔφη.] Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντι δίδετε καὶ τὸν βουλόμενον δανείσασθαι μὴ ἀποστραφῆτε. Εἰ γὰρ δανεῖζετε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε λαβεῖν, τί καινὸν ποιεῖτε; τοῦτο καὶ οἱ τελῶναι ποιοῦσιν.

MATT. v, 42. Τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ τὸν θέλοντα ἀπὸ σοῦ δανείσασθαι, μὴ ἀποστραφῆς.

LUKE vi, 30—34. Παντὶ δὲ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵροντος τὰ σὰ μὴ ἀπαίτει. . . (v. 34.) Καὶ ἐὰν δανείζητε παρ' ὧν ἐλπίζετε ἀπολαβεῖν, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστὶ; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἁμαρτωλοῖς δανείζουσιν, ἵνα ἀπολάβωσι τὰ ἴσα.

9.

ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ θησαυρίζετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ληστὰι διορύσσουσι · θησαυρίζετε δὲ ἑαυτοῖς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.

MATT. vi, 19—20. Μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σῆς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει, καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσι καὶ κλέπτουσι · θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει.

10.

Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἂν τὸν κόσμον ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν

δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσῃ ; ἢ τί δώσει αὐτῆς ἀντάλλαγμα ;
Θησαυρίζετε οὖν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε βρώσις
ἀφανίζει.

ΜΑΤΤ. xvi, 26. Τί γὰρ ὠφελεῖται ἄνθρωπος, ἐὰν τὸν κόσμον
ὅλον κερδήσῃ, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ζημιωθῇ ; ἢ τί δώσει ἄνθρω-
πος ἀντάλλαγμα τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ; ΜΑΤΤ. vi, 20. Θη-
σαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅπου οὔτε σῆς οὔτε
βρώσις ἀφανίζει.

11.

Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὥς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν
χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ
ἀμαρτωλοὺς καὶ δικαίους καὶ πονηροὺς.

ΜΑΤΤ. v, 45. "Οτι τὸν ἥλιον LUKK, vi, 35. Γίνεσθε οὖν
αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ πονηροὺς οἰκτίρμονες, καθὼς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ
καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ βρέχει ἐπὶ δι- ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστί.
καίους καὶ ἀδίκους.

12.

Μὴ μεριμνᾶτε δὲ τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε. Οὐχ ὑμεῖς τῶν
πετεινῶν καὶ τῶν θηρίων διαφέρετε ; Καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τρέφει αὐτά.
Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε τί φάγητε ἢ τί ἐνδύσησθε· οἶδε γὰρ ὁ
πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι τούτων χρεῖαν ἔχετε. Ζητεῖτε δὲ τὴν
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.
"Οπου γὰρ ὁ θησαυρός ἐστίν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ὁ νοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

To make up this passage in Justin Martyr, we are obliged to
join together several from the gospels of St Matthew and St Luke.

ΜΑΤΤ. vi, 25. Μὴ LUKE xii, 22. Μὴ
μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν, τί μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν, τί
φάγητε καὶ τί πίνητε· μηδὲ τῷ φάγητε· μηδὲ τῷ σώματι, τί
σώματι ὑμῶν, τί ἐνδύσησθε. ἐνδύσησθε.

(31) Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε, λέ-
γοντες· Τί φάγωμεν, ἢ τί πίνω-
μεν, ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα.

(32) Οἶδε γὰρ ὁ

(24) Πόσῳ μᾶλλον
ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε τῶν πετεινῶν ;

(29) Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ζητεῖτε τι
φάγητε, ἢ τί πίνητε, καὶ μὴ

πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι
 χρήζετε τούτων ἀπάντων. Ζη-
 τεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν
 τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην
 αὐτοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προσ-
 τεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

(21) "Οπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ
 θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ
 ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν.

μετεωρίζεσθε.

(30) Ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ
 οἶδεν, ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων.
 Πλὴν ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν
 τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα
 προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.

(34) "Οπου γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ
 θησαυρὸς ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ ἡ
 καρδία ὑμῶν ἔσται.

13.

Μὴ ποιῆτε ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰ δὲ
 μή γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ὑμῶν τοῦ ἐν τοῖς
 οὐρανοῖς.

ΜΑΤΤ. vi, 1. Προσέχετε τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν
 ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μήγε,
 μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

14.

[Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνεξικάκους εἶναι καὶ ὑπηρετικούς πᾶσι καὶ
 ἀοργήτους ἃ ἔφη ταῦτά ἐστι.] Τῷ τύπτοντί σου τὴν σιαγόνα
 παρέχε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ τὸν αἶροντά σου τὸν χιτῶνα ἢ τὸ
 ἱμάτιον μὴ κωλύσης.

ΜΑΤΤ. v, 39—40. LUKE vi, 29. Τῷ τύπτοντί
 "Οστις σε ῥαπίσει ἐπὶ τὴν σε ἐπὶ τὴν σιαγόνα, παρέχε
 δεξιάν σου σιαγόνα, στρέψον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· καὶ τῷ αἶροντός σου τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ
 θέλοντί σοι κριθῆναι, καὶ τὸν τὸν χιτῶνα μὴ κωλύσης.
 χιτῶνά σου λαβεῖν, ἀφες αὐτῷ
 καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον.

15.

"Ος δ' ἂν ὀργισθῇ, ἔνοχός ἐστιν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. Παντὶ δὲ ἀγγα-
 ρεύοντί σε μίλιον ἀκολουθήσων δύο.

Λαμψάτω δὲ ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
 ἵνα βλέποντες θαυμάζωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

ΜΑΤΤ. ν, 22. . . . ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ, μωρὲ, ἔνοχος ἔσται εἰς τὴν γέενναν τοῦ πυρός. . . (41) Καὶ ὅστις σε ἀγγαρεύσει μίλιον ἓν, ὑπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο. (16) Οὕτω λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

16.

[Περὶ δε τοῦ μὴ ὁμνῦναι ὅλως, τάληθῇ δὲ λέγειν ἀεὶ, οὕτω παρεκελεύσατο.] Μὴ ὁμόσητε ὅλως· ἔστω δὲ ὑμῶν τὸ ναὶ ναὶ καὶ τὸ οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

ΜΑΤΤ. ν, 34. Μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως. . . . (37) Ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν, ναὶ ναὶ, οὐ οὐ· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν τούτων, ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ ἔστιν.

17.

[Ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν μόνον δεῖ προσκυνεῖν, οὕτως ἔπεισεν εἰπών.] Μεγίστη ἐντολὴ ἔστι· Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου, Κύριον τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε.

ΜΑΤ. iv, 10, Γέγ-
ραπται γάρ· Κύριον
τὸν Θεόν σου προσ-
κυνήσεις, καὶ αὐτῷ
μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

MARK, xii, 30,
Καὶ ἀγαπήσεις Κύρι-
ον τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ
ὅλης τῆς καρδίας
σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
ψυχῆς σου, καὶ ἐξ
ὅλης τῆς διανοίας
σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς
ἰσχύος σου· αὕτη
πρώτη ἐντολή.

LUKE x, 27.

Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον
τὸν Θεόν σου ἐξ
ὅλης τῆς καρδίας
σου, καὶ ἐξ ὅλης
τῆς ψυχῆς σου, καὶ
ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας
σου.

With these quotations may be closed our notice of JUSTIN MARTYR; though a less minute examination would have been insufficient for a writer generally considered to be the most important of the second century of our era. The result to which a perusal of his works will lead, is of the gravest character. He will be found to quote nearly two hundred sentiments or sayings of Christ; but

makes hardly a single clear allusion to all those circumstances of time or place, which give so much interest to Christ's teaching, as recorded in the four gospels. The inference is that he quotes Christ's sayings as delivered by tradition or taken down in writing before the four gospels were compiled.

The two other names, IRENÆUS and CELSUS, which are placed at the head of this chapter, will not detain us long; for even those who deny the authenticity of the four gospels as the writings of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, allow that they were at last compiled about the end of the second, or the beginning of the third century.

Of IRENÆUS we know but little. He is supposed by Dodwell to have been born as early as A. D. 97, and Dr Lardner places him about A. D. 178. He is said to have been bishop of Lyons in Gaul about that time, but his principal work being a treatise against heresies seems to be a reason why the time at which he lived should be fixed as late as possible, for, otherwise, we are led to an unfavourable impression from the fact that heresies were already in existence so soon after the first teaching of Christianity. The works of Irenæus are in a very mutilated state, and need not be now examined, for as they certainly were written many years after the Apologies of Justin Martyr, they could only prove that the four gospels were already in existence in the latter half of the second century.

Of CELSUS we know still less than of Irenæus. He is, indeed, known to us only through Origen's "Defence of Christianity against the attack of Celsus." He was the first literary antagonist of Christianity, and seems to have written during the age of the Antonines: his work was designated the *Word of Truth* (Ἀληθὴς Λόγος). The nature of his philosophical opinions is a subject of uncertainty with learned men to this present moment, and even the simplest circumstances of his history were unknown even to his inquisitive opponent. "Whatever may have been his character and his tenets, it is evident," says Dr Waddington, "even from the fragments of his work which are cited by his adversary, that

he possessed great general powers of expression, especially of sarcasm and of rhetoric ; that he was skilful in the selection of points for attack ; and that he possessed too that wicked talent of perverting truth and insinuating falsehood, of suppressing largely and inventing discreetly, and confounding established facts with rumoured calumnies—which so commonly marks the distinguished controversialist.” The work of Celsus has perished—it would indeed have been wonderful, if it had survived so many centuries of intolerance, when every thing that opposed the prevailing belief was carefully destroyed, and all men were bent not so much upon the pursuit of truth as upon the maintainance, at all sacrifices, of the existing order of things.

CHAPTER IX.

THAT THE EXISTING GOSPELS ACCORDING TO MATTHEW AND MARK
ARE DIFFERENT FROM THE WRITINGS ASCRIBED TO THEM BY
PAPIAS AND EUSEBIUS.

“The history of the New Testament,” says Dr Lardner [*vol.* 1, *p.* 136], “is attended with many difficulties.” This remark suggests a variety of thoughts, which crowd upon and almost overwhelm the mind. Were the gospels written by our Lord’s apostles, to be the only source from which his followers are to draw their Christian morals and to regulate their course of life—and is their history still “attended with many difficulties”? It is not to be believed ; God’s work is not a failure ; Christ’s teaching is not obscure nor his philosophy kept beneath a lock, to which even the most learned men can hardly find a key. What then are the difficulties, which the able writer of the *Credibility of the Gospel History* had in view ? The only real difficulty arises from the false notion that the gospels were written by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, or indeed by any one living at the time when the events recorded in those histories took place. All other difficulties vanish,

when this primary difficulty is removed. Let it be granted that the gospels were compiled when tradition began to be too weak any longer to transmit those facts, and it is clear that inaccuracies in modes of speech, discrepancies in dates and details and such other 'difficulties'—many of which occur in the four gospels—will at once sink into insignificance: for who can expect that such minor blemishes will be wholly absent from a history, first written 150 years after the event, when all who had seen it had been long removed from this world?

We will now see what INTERNAL EVIDENCE the New Testament furnishes, bearing upon the question, in what age the books of the New Testament were composed. The EXTERNAL EVIDENCE has been considered in the previous chapters—so far at least, as is necessary to establish the conclusion that the four gospels, bearing the names of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, are not contemporary records: for, if they were not in being during the 150 years immediately following after the crucifixion of our Lord, it is absolutely certain that they could not have been compiled into their present form by any writers who were themselves witnesses of those events. To establish the same inference, indeed, a less space than 150 years would, ordinarily, be sufficient, but the circumstance, in itself very suspicious, of the great age ascribed to St John, Polycarp, and others, by ecclesiastical writers, contrary to all general probability—apparently because there was a wide blank to be filled up—makes it necessary to comprise a longer space of time in the review of authors who are said, or may be supposed, to name the gospels and their authors.

Having then failed to find any notices of the four gospels in works earlier than the date of Irenæus, we will now proceed to examine whether any allusion is made to the apostles as having written or delivered down to posterity any records at all of the wonderful things which they had witnessed in their life-time. Here we shall find abundant evidence to convince us that what the apostles or their immediate disciples left behind them, was certainly different from any thing which our New Testament now

contains. We must here consider the existing four gospels with reference to the four apostles to whom they are ascribed, and see how far they harmonize with existing notices of what those apostles left behind them in writing. For, if it should appear that the disciples of our Lord did actually leave any writings behind them, or were thought to have done so, and those writings seem to be of a different character from our existing gospels, the genuineness of the four will be disproved by the same process—This *is* the case with the first two gospels; but concerning the other two, we have not enough evidence to justify such a conclusion.

In the first place, then, the Gospel of St Matthew, which we now have, is not that which was originally ascribed to that apostle. For it is four times repeated by Eusebius, that St Matthew wrote a gospel *in Hebrew* [*Eccl. Hist.* 116, 30: 138, 1: 219, 2: 223, 19: and 290, 22]. One of these passages—sufficient for our present purpose—is quoted by Eusebius from Papias, and has been already given at page 64:

Matthew, then, in the Hebrew dialect wrote the oracles: and each person interpreted them as he was able.

If St Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, why has the original perished? The existing Greek text is either a translation of the Hebrew, or it is a separate work. But it cannot be a translation, for many reasons.

1. Because there is not the slightest evidence on record of its being a translation.

2. Because it is unreasonable to believe that an authentic work—written by inspiration—would perish or be superseded by an unauthenticated translation—for all translations are less authentic than their original.

3. Because there are many features in our present gospel according to St Matthew, which are common to the gospels of St Mark, and St Luke; which would lead to the inference that the latter are translations also.

4. Besides, there is nothing in the gospel of St Matthew, as regards its style or construction, that would lead to the inference of

its being a translation, any more than all the other books contained in the New Testament.

For these reasons we conclude that the "Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew," which perhaps no one has seen since Pantænus who brought it from India,* and the "*Greek Gospel according to St Matthew*," are separate and independent works.

The Gospel written by St MARK, also, seems to have been a different work from that which is now entitled "*according to St Mark*." This document, also, is mentioned by Papias, as quoted by Eusebius; the account which they give of it is not applicable to the work which we now have. For the "*Gospel according to St Mark*" professes to give a continuous history of Christ's life, as regularly as the other three gospels, but the work noticed by Papi-

* Eusebius gives us the following account of Pantænus—"At that time [about B. C. 180], there presided in the school of the faithful at that place [ALEXANDRIA] a man highly celebrated on account of his learning, by name PANTÆNUS. For there had been from ancient time erected among them a school of sacred learning, which remains to this day; and we have understood that it has been wont to be furnished with men eminent for their eloquence and the study of divine things; and it is said that this person excelled others of that time, having been brought up in the Stoic philosophy; that he was nominated or sent forth as a missionary to preach the gospel of Christ to the nations of the EAST, and to have travelled into INDIA. For there were yet at that time many evangelists of the word, animated with a divine zeal of imitating the apostles, by contributing to the enlargement of the gospel, and building up the church: of whom this Pantænus was one; who is said to have gone to the INDIANS, where it is commonly said he found the gospel of Matthew, written in the Hebrew tongue, which before his arrival had been delivered to some in that country who had the knowledge of Christ, to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, is said to have preached, and to have left with them that writing of Matthew, and that it was preserved among them to that time. This Pantænus, therefore, for his many excellent performances, was at last made president of the school of Alexandria, where he set forth the treasures of the divine principles both by word of mouth and by his writings." ECCL. HIST. 5, 9.

St Jerome, as quoted by Dr Lardner, vol. 1, p. 391, says of him—"Pantænus, a philosopher of the Stoic sect, according to an ancient custom of the city of Alexandria, was, at the request of ambassadors from INDIA, sent into that country by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, where he found that Bartholomew, one of the twelve apostles, had preached the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the gospel of Matthew, which he brought back with him to Alexandria, written in Hebrew letters."

as is expressly stated to have been memoranda taken down from time to time, as Peter delivered them, and it is not said that Mark ever reduced these notes into the form of a more perfect history.

Of the Gospels, originally ascribed to Luke and John, we have no notices which may enable us to decide whether they coincided in character with those which are now entitled "*According to those evangelists.*"

CHAPTER X.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE GOSPELS.—ST LUKE'S GOSPEL DECLAREDLY NOT CONTEMPORARY—ERRONEOUS TRANSLATION OF THE FIRST FOUR VERSES.

Having, in the preceding chapters, examined briefly but sufficiently, the historical evidence derived from without, bearing upon the authorship and date of the books of the New Testament, we must now turn to the books themselves, if perchance they may supply any indication of the age when they were written. This mode of proceeding is sanctioned by the authority of all critics: for, in all ages, there have been instances of books that have been proved genuine or spurious by the application of this test only. It is even admitted among all men, that there is no other test so sure, to distinguish the true from the false: for truth must be harmonious and consistent with itself, but error—not to say *intentional* error or forgery—will betray itself by inconsistencies, contradictions and a general want of harmony between its various parts. It cannot be too often repeated, that our concern is not, mainly, with the facts which are related by the four evangelists, but simply with the mode in which those facts are related—not to prove that the gospel histories are untrue, but that many matters of detail are not in such strict harmony as to allow us to suppose that they were written by eye-witnesses, guided by inspiration from above. A work, dictated by God's spirit, would, by the

necessity of the case, be free from blemish, and defy criticism. It would compel the faith, not only of friends but of foes. It would be a great shining light, like the universe around us, like the sun at noonday, shedding its rays alike upon the evil and the good, scorching error to its root, and confounding the pen of the critic and the bold front of the blasphemer until they sunk humbled in the dust at the blaze of God's ineffable majesty. But this is not a picture of the evangelical histories, even in the judgment of their most partial commentators. The miserable lucubrations with which the noble simplicity of the gospels is overwhelmed, are unworthy of the text which they are intended to illustrate. And why? Because they vacillate from point to point, that they may reconcile things which do not allow of being reconciled: they apply to the interpretation of the most splendid book which the world has yet beheld, a mode of criticism, that would be rejected with contempt, if applied to the profane histories of Greece and Rome. And they do this to support a theory which cannot be maintained, which has been the cause of all the opposition that the Christian writings have ever had to encounter. Let it be maintained that those books are the writings of the disciples of Christ, acting under the inspiration of the Almighty, and we exclaim with emphasis that they are not good enough to warrant such an origin. But, admit that they are the works of pious writers living 150 years or more after the time when those events happened, and all difficulties vanish—criticism is mute—discrepancies dwindle into nothing, and we bow with reverence to the books which give us assurance of happiness based upon virtue and love, that will attend on us beyond the limits of this transitory life.

In examining the Internal Evidence which the books of the New Testament supply, we shall be compelled to treat many subjects with brevity, but it is hoped at sufficient length to form a body of proof, bearing with great weight upon the conclusion to be established. The numerous extracts which we shall be compelled to make from the books themselves will preclude us from indulg-

ing in many reflections that would be of great interest in themselves, but might draw us to too great a distance from the object which we have in view. Let us therefore commence the second part of our subject, the Internal Evidence, by examining whether either of the four gospels professes to be contemporary with the events which it relates.

Now the gospel ascribed to St Luke differs from the others in having a form of dedication prefixed, from which we learn that it was compiled by its author for the use of one Theophilus : who occurs no where else in history, except in this dedication, and another like it prefixed to the Acts of the Apostles. The purpose for which the dedication is here brought forward is to correct the very grave errors which occur in the translation of it found in our authorised bibles. I use the term grave errors, because the words, by which the Greek is translated, lead the English reader to the belief that the author claims the credit of being a contemporary writer, whereas the Greek expressly declares that the author has accurately followed the accounts which had been handed down to his times by others who had been eye-witnesses of the facts. This is an important difference between the writer's real meaning and that which is attributed to him by those who follow an erroneous translation. The reader may judge from what follows whether this statement is correct.

Original Greek.

Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου· ἔδοξε καὶ μοι, παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς, καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

AUTHORISED VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are

CORRECTED TRANSLATION.

1 Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a DESCRIPTION of those things, which

most surely believed among us,

2 Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word;

3 It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus,

4 That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TO FULFILMENT IN US,

2 EVEN AS THEY, WHICH from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, have HANDED DOWN TO US,

3 It seemed good to me also, FOLLOWING ALL ACCURATELY FROM THE BEGINNING, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus,

4 That thou mightest know the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.

There are here, it is clear, three serious mistranslations. The writer of this gospel does not say that he is going to write about things "which are surely believed among us," but things, "which have been brought to fulfilment (or completion) in us." Neither was it himself and his contemporaries, "which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, but others "who handed it down to him and his contemporaries." Thirdly, the writer had not "perfect understanding of all things from the first," but he "followed or traced down all the accounts of others from the first." If these statements do not show that he disclaims a contemporary character, and writes only at second-hand, then is there no rule for receiving literary evidence, but words may be turned to any meaning that may best suit the purpose of those who use them.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GENEALOGIES OF CHRIST, IN THE GOSPELS ACCORDING TO ST MATTHEW AND ST JOHN, CANNOT BE RECONCILED WITH ONE ANOTHER.

In the gospels according to St Matthew and St Mark are given genealogies of Christ, shewing his descent, in the former from Abraham, in the latter from the first man Adam.

The catalogue, given in Luke's gospel, [iii, 23—38] is in accordance, for the earlier part from Adam to Abraham, with the list of names found in the book of Genesis; and from Abraham downwards to David, it agrees with the genealogy given in St Matthew's gospel [1, 2-6], and both agree with the genealogy of the Old Testament, in either the Septuagint version or the Hebrew original. But the descent of Jesus, after the time of David, is told so discrepantly in the two gospels, that it is absolutely impossible to reconcile them. In this portion of the genealogy, i. e. from David to Christ, the two accounts are inadmissible for these four reasons.

- 1 They do not agree with one another.
2. They do not agree with the genealogy found in the Old Testament.
3. They are not supported by probability.
4. The genealogy of St Matthew is not consistent with itself.

The inference to be deduced from these serious discrepancies will be that the genealogies were drawn up later than the time of Christ, not by contemporary writers, who might have ascertained the truth without difficulty, but by later writers, after the dispersion of the Jews into other countries, and the destruction of records and registers had made it difficult to ascertain the exact lineage of the family of Christ.

1. The first of the discrepancies will be evident from an inspection of the following table, in which the several pedigrees from David to Christ are given in three parallel columns.

OLD TESTAMENT

MATTHEW

LUKE

David = Bath-sheba

David

David

Solomon Nathan

Solomon

Nathan

Rehoboam

Roboam

Mattatha

Abijah

Abia

Menan

Asa

Asa

Melea

Jehoshaphat

Josaphat

Eliakim

Jehoram

Joram

Jonan

Ahaziah or Azariah
 or Jehoachaz

Ozias

Joseph

Juda

Joash

Simeon

Amaziah

Levi

Uzziah or Azariah

Matthat

Jotham

Joatham

Jorim

Ahaz

Achaz

Eliezer

Hezekiah

Ezekias

Jose

Manasseh

Manasses

Er

Ammon

Amon

Elmodam

Josiah

Josias

Cosam

Eliakim or Jehoiakim

Addi

Jeconiah

Jechonia

Melchi

Neri

Salathiel

Salathiel

Salathiel

Pedaiah

Zorobabel

Zorobabel

Zorobabel

Abiud

Rhesa

Eliakim

Joanna

Azor

Juda

Sadoc

Joseph

Achim

Semei

Eliud

Mattathias

Eleazar

Maath

Nagge

Esli

Naum

Amos

Mattathias

Joseph

Janna

Melchi

Levi

Matthan

Matthat

Jacob

Heli

Joseph

Joseph

Christ

Christ

On comparing these lists, we find that between David and Christ there are only two names which occur in both Matthew and Luke,—those of Zorobabel and of Joseph the reputed father of Jesus. In tracing the list downwards from David there would be less difficulty in explaining this, at least to a certain point, for Matthew follows the line of Solomon, and Luke that of Nathan—both of whom were sons of David. But even in the downward line, on reaching Salathiel, where the two genealogies again come into contact, we find, to our astonishment, that in Luke he is the son of Neri, whilst in Matthew his father's name is Jechonias. From Zorobabel downwards, the lists are again divergent until we reach Joseph, who in St Luke is placed as the son of Heli, whilst in St Matthew his father's name is Jacob.

To solve this patent difficulty, the English reader turns to the Family Bible published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge; where, in a note on the passage in St Luke, he finds the following account of the matter:

It is seen that the genealogy of our Saviour, here given by St Luke, is entirely different, as far as David, from that given by St Matthew, chap. i. Among the various methods of explaining this, which have been proposed, the most probable is, that whereas St Matthew traced the genealogy through Joseph the husband of his mother, so St Luke here traces it through Mary his mother. It is certain that Heli was not the natural father of Joseph, for St Matthew expressly tells us, that "Jacob begat Joseph": it is therefore inferred that Heli was the father of Mary, and only father-in-law of Joseph. But it was never usual with the Jews to mention the names of females in their genealogies; on this account, Mary is not mentioned here by St Luke, but is only intimated or included, when the line is commenced from her father Heli. The true purport of this genealogy becomes more evident, if we consider, as seems to be intended, the word JESUS to be understood at every step. Thus it is to be supplied, JESUS, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, JESUS the son of Heli, JESUS the son of Matthat, &c.—JESUS the son of Seth, JESUS the son of Adam, JESUS the son of God. A style of genealogy precisely similar to this is used by Moses at Gen. xxxvi, 2, "Abolibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon." &c.

Thus it appears that St Luke composing his gospel for the use of the

Gentiles, and intending to prove that Christ was the seed of the woman, necessarily reckons by the line of his mother, Mary the daughter of Heli. St Matthew, on the other hand, intending to deduce his legal descent from David and Abraham, reckons by the line of Joseph the espoused husband of Mary through whom the legal descent was to be carried. DR LIGHTFOOT.

It is difficult to look upon this extract seriously, or to believe that so weak an argument could ever have been put forward to explain what is really a great difficulty to all those who believe that the two gospels in question were written by two contemporaries—and one of them a disciple—of our Lord. If we suppose Luke to *say* that Joseph was the *son* of Heli, and to *mean* that Mary, Joseph's wife, was the *daughter* of Heli, we are at liberty to give to words whatever meaning may best suit our own convenience, and the critical art, by which so many truths have been saved from oblivion, may be cast aside as no longer of any benefit to mankind ! But there is nowhere any indication that Mary was the daughter of Eli, or that the Jews omitted "women in their genealogies." The utmost that can be said on this point, is that the Jews like the English, traced their descent, if possible, through the male line; and, in the case cited from Gen. xxxvi, 2, where is the evidence that Anah was not a female as well as a male appellation among the Jews? The passage cited is in itself a proof of this fact. The words 'Aholibamah . . . the daughter of Zibeon,' occurring in serious prose—not poetry—indicates that females were named occasionally in Jewish genealogies, and also that Anah, at least in this instance, was the name of a woman. But to recur more closely to our subject: the genealogies of Matthew and Luke are so different that it is impossible both can be true; and, it is not a sufficient reply to this objection to state that the writers wrote one thing, and meant another: there is no evidence that Jewish writers ever called a man the son of his wife's father, absolutely, and without some indication of their doing so.

2. But the genealogies differ almost as much from that which is found in the Old Testament, as they do from one another, as may be seen from the tables given above. That of Luke does not so easily admit of being tested by this comparison; for Luke

traces the lineage of Christ through David's son Nathan, whose family and descent do not occur at all in the Old Testament. Yet even here, the only point where it is possible to compare the two, they are found to differ : for Salathiel and Zorobabel, the only intermediate links which occur both in the Old Testament and in Luke, are placed in the former as grandfather and grandson, whilst in Luke they stand in the relation of father and son ; besides which Salathiel appears in Luke as the son of Neri, whilst in the Old Testament his father's name is Jechonias. Luke also mentions Resa as the son of Zorobabel, but no such name occurs in the Old Testament of any such person. As the Old Testament genealogy is the more ancient, being in fact the original authority, it is clear that the genealogy given by St Luke must be set aside as inaccurate, because refuted by the evidence of an original and more authentic document. The genealogy of St Matthew, following the line of Solomon, as does that of the Old Testament, admits of a more ready comparison between the two ; and here also we find a perfect harvest of divergencies.

First, as to the number of generations : the Old Testament gives 22, St Matthew only 17 from David to Zorobabel. Secondly, though the names for the first 8 generations, from David to Jehoram, are as nearly alike as, perhaps, the Greek and Hebrew idioms will admit, yet a serious discrepancy immediately occurs ; for before Ozias, the 8th member of St Matthew's list, we have three names, Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah, given in the Old Testament, and altogether omitted in St Matthew. The same gospel genealogy also omits Eliakim after Josiah, and Pedaiah between Salathiel and Zorobabel.

The question then arises, How are these difficulties to be surmounted ? and the dilemma which arises is simple : one of the two accounts must be erroneous ; but, as the Old Testament is the original authority, from which all later Jewish writers must have drawn their information, if they wished their histories to be received for truth, it follows that St Matthew's gospel, as well as that of Luke, have been inaccurately copied from the original

sources. This leads us to believe that the writings, in which such mistakes are found, were composed when the facilities for arriving at the truth had been removed out of the way, i. e. that these writings are not contemporary with the events which they describe.

3. But a third objection lies to the reception of the gospel genealogies—that they offend against probability; for whilst the gospel of St Matthew has 28 generations from David to Christ—both inclusive, St Luke has 43 generations for the same period. Now, the interval between David and Christ, 1050 years, divided by 28 in the one case and by 43 in the other, gives 34 years to a generation according to St Matthew, and 24 according to St Luke. The former estimate is unreasonably long; no instance can be found in the history of the world, of 28 generations, each of 34 years' duration. The objection does not apply to the other gospel, for 24 years is, perhaps, a reasonable duration to allow to each member in so long a pedigree.

4. A fourth objection to the genealogy of St Matthew is that it is inconsistent with itself: for, although the writer sets out with the statement that the pedigree from Abraham to Christ exhibits three periods, each of fourteen members or forty two altogether, yet the names given in the list amount to forty one only, even if we include those of Abraham and of Christ. This cannot have arisen from the error of a copyist; at least not within the last 1600 years, for Porphyry, one of the early opponents of Christianity, has mentioned the omission. It is true that some manuscript copies of the New Testament still exist, in which the number is made to amount to forty two, by the insertion of an additional name, Jehoiakim, between Josias and Jechonias; but, unfortunately for this mode of correction, it has the effect of augmenting the second period of names from 14 to 15, and still leaves the third period, from Jechonias to Jesus, where only 13 names occur, imperfect as before.

Some persons have attempted to account for the discrepancy by supposing that the writer has counted some of the names in his

list, twice, so as to include them in two of the separate periods of 14. It would be a waste of words to refute so puerile an idea ; and it is more to the point to suppose that the writer was led by a fanciful view of his subject, to divide the genealogy into three periods, for the sake of convenience, and neglected the slight difference between the actual number and that which he arbitrarily adopted. This may be admitted without much danger to the truth of the history,—if it be supposed that the writer lived at a time when he could coolly trifle with a serious subject, but not if that writer was one of the twelve disciples, inspired by God to declare to future ages the marvellous deeds which they had seen, and the love of Jesus his Son !

CHAPTER XII.

THE TWO ACCOUNTS OF THE ANNUNCIATION.

The careful reader of the gospel history cannot fail to observe an incompleteness in the narratives of all the four evangelists, which gives them the appearance of contradicting one another, and has led their opponents to condemn them prematurely and in many instances unfairly. To this extreme they have been led, perhaps, in some cases, by the unreasonable conduct of indiscreet partisans whose admiration of the gospels will not hear of their being incomplete or in any way defective. The truth is often found to lie half-way between extreme controversialists, even when the sacredness of the gospel is assailed on the one hand, or defended on the other.

The history of the annunciation of the birth of Christ, as related by St Matthew and St Luke, will be found to be attended with a difficulty which requires to be noticed.

The two accounts are here subjoined.

MATT. 1, 18—25.

18 ¶ Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise: When as his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.

19 Then Joseph her husband, being a just man, and not willing to make her a publick example, was minded to put her away privily.

20 Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying, Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife: for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost.

21 And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS: for he shall save his people from their sins.

22 Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying,

23 Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us.

24. Then Joseph being raised from sleep did as the angel of the Lord had bidden him, and took unto him his wife:

25 And knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son: and he called his name JESUS.

LUKE 1, 26—28.

26 And in the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,

27 To a virgin espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, of the house of David; and the virgin's name was Mary.

28 And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, THOU THAT ART highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed ART thou among women.

29 And when she saw HIM, she was troubled at his saying, and cast in her mind what manner of salutation this should be.

30 And the angel said unto her, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favour with God.

31 And, behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name JESUS.

32 He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David:

33 And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

34 Then said Mary unto the angel, How shall this be, seeing I know not a man?

35 And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

36 And, behold, thy cousin Elisabeth, she hath also conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her, who was called barren.

37 For with God nothing shall be impossible.

38 And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.

The points in these narratives which arrest our attention are manifold:

1. Either there are two different accounts of the same thing, or two separate annunciations were made, the one to Joseph, and the other to Mary. But either of these suppositions is attended with a difficulty. If they are two accounts of the same transaction, it is evident that they do not agree together; and we must explain the variation by supposing that tradition had gradually altered the features of the story, before it was at length set down in writing. If, however, there were two annunciations, it is obvious to remark that one of them seems to have been superfluous;

for the announcement made to Mary, that she should conceive by the agency of the Holy Ghost, would render it unnecessary that the same announcement should be made to Joseph also. Not so—will doubtlessly be the reply—it was necessary that so important a fact as the conception of Mary by the Holy Ghost should be borne out by a heavenly communication made both to the husband and to the wife. If so, why was not the communication made to Joseph at the same time as to his wife? The angel appeared to Mary before she had conceived, but he did not shew himself to Joseph until his nuptials with Mary had been solemnised, and then, before they came together, the husband discovered the condition which his wife was in. It is evident that two or three months must have passed since the conception, and it also appears that Joseph found out the fact for himself,—and that Mary did not communicate it to him. This is not what we should have expected, nor what propriety seems to require. The heavenly message which Mary had received, followed by a change in her condition, that would naturally lead to suspicion and even scandal among her friends, would have extorted from the most reluctant female a confession of the truth; but to leave it to be found out by her husband, on the celebration of their wedding, would be neither prudent nor becoming.

In some of the uncanonical or apocryphal gospels the history of the annunciation is related with many additional particulars; for instance, that Mary's silence, previous to Joseph's discovery of her condition, arose from her having wholly forgotten the announcement made to herself; but this is simply absurd, for her condition of body would daily have reminded her of it. If we listen to another of the apocryphal gospels, Mary did actually communicate to Joseph what had passed; but in this case, if he had believed her, the later announcement made to himself would have been superfluous, and, on the other hand, if he did not believe her, the message previously delivered to Mary, as clearly must have failed of its effect. Thus there are difficulties lying in our path, whichever view of the story we may prefer. Upon the whole,

the weight of probability is in favour of the first named interpretation—that St Matthew and St Luke relate the same annunciation with different features. To this conclusion it is no objection that it infers a discrepancy between the two evangelists; for such a discrepancy is sufficiently explained by the fading character of tradition, which always gives divergencies to different accounts of the same transaction, until they are consigned to writing and admit of being thoroughly compared and tested. It is a fair argument against our believing in two separate annunciations, that neither of the evangelists has related both. It is rather remarkable that two only of the evangelists have alluded at all to so striking an intervention of the Almighty; but that two such interventions took place is less credible, when we find that neither of those two evangelists was acquainted with more than one.

CHAPTER XIII.

DIFFERENT VIEWS ENTERTAINED BY THE FOUR EVANGELISTS CONCERNING THE DURATION OF CHRIST'S MINISTRY.

A comparison of the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, as to the general plan of the history which they contain, leads to the discovery of a very important divergency existing between them, respecting the duration of time occupied by the events therein described. On this point they do not all differ from one another;—for Matthew, Mark and Luke agree tolerably well in their general outline; but the chronology of John's gospel is remarkably at variance with all the other three.

According to the first gospel, Christ, after his baptism and temptation in the wilderness, for which he had gone expressly out of Galilee into Judæa, immediately returns to Galilee and performs a series of cures, miracles, and other actions which occupy the whole of the evangelist's narrative as far as the end of the XVIIIth chapter. In chapter XIX, verse 1, he is related to have

gone into Judæa beyond Jordan, and in the first part of chapter XXI, is related the visit to Jerusalem which led to his crucifixion. He there spends the day generally in the temple and retires to pass the night at Bethany.

The scheme of the second gospel is in harmony with the foregoing. All the earlier part of it is occupied with Christ's teaching in Galilee, and at chap. XI, verse 1, we read that he set out on his visit to Jerusalem.

The gospel of St Luke does not differ from the two preceding. Eighteen chapters are occupied with Christ's teaching in Galilee, and in the 1st verse of chapter XIX, we read that he went up to Jerusalem, passing through the town of Jericho.

Very different, however, is the historical basis of the gospel according to St John, where, in chapter II, 13, immediately after the account of Christ's first miracle in Cana of Galilee, we read :

And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

In chapter III, 22, we read :

After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judæa ; and there he tarried with them and baptized.

But in the interval between these two texts it is not said that Jesus had left Judæa, so that it appears superfluous information to tell us that he again came into it.

At chap. IV, verse 1—3, we are told that he left it, and for what reason.

When therefore the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, (though Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples,) he left Judæa, and departed again into Galilee.

IV, 46. So Jesus came again into Cana of Galilee, where he made the water wine.

He does not however remain long in Galilee, for at chap. V, verse 1, it is said that he again goes up to a feast.

After this there was a feast of the Jews ; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.

We next find him again in Galilee, without being told how he had found his way thither :

VI, 1. After these things Jesus went over the sea of Galilee, which is the sea of Tiberias. And a great multitude followed him, because they saw his miracles which he did on them that were diseased. And Jesus went up into a mountain and there he sat with his disciples.

In the next verse, VI, 4, we are told that “the passover a feast of the Jews was nigh.”

It is not, however, said that Jesus went up to this passover ; though shortly after he again goes up to Jerusalem, unknown to his disciples, whom he had led to suppose that he did not mean to attend the feast.

VII, 2. Now the Jews’ feast of tabernacles was at hand 8. Go ye up unto this feast : I go not yet unto this feast ; for my time is not yet full come. 9. When he had said these words unto them, he abode still in Galilee. 10. But when his brethren were gone up, then went he also up unto the feast, not openly, but as it were in secret.

At chapter X, verse 22, we read

And it was at Jerusalem the feast of the dedication and it was winter, And Jesus walked in the temple in Solomon’s porch.

From which it would seem that Jesus passed the whole interval between the two feasts at Jerusalem—at least there is no notice of his having left it—between the feast of tabernacles and the feast of dedication.

At chap. X, 40—1, it is related that the Jews

Sought again to take him, but he escaped out of their hand, And went away again beyond Jordan into the place where John at first baptized ; and there he abode.

In the XIth chapter is related his return into Judæa (out of Peræa), to Bethany for the purpose of recalling Lazarus to life, and his subsequent retirement “unto a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim,” from fear of the Jews who had formed a design to kill him. From this place he returned to Bethany, six days before the final passover at which he was put to death. XII, 1.

The general character of the chronology of the four gospels may be briefly stated as deduced from the above outline. The first three gospels evidently lay the scene of Christ's teaching in Galilee, whilst the gospel of St John places it principally in Judæa and in Jerusalem. So remarkable a discrepancy has not escaped the notice of the commentators and harmonists, and various modes have been adopted to reconcile the four narratives, so as to form a chronological basis for the history of our Lord's teaching and for the duration of his ministry. According to the first three gospels, Christ's public life lasted only one year, at the end of which he went up to Jerusalem and was crucified. But, according to St John's gospel, his ministry would appear to have lasted as many years as there occur passovers. This point, however, is not so easy to ascertain, for in some of the passages which I have just quoted from St John's gospel, where a feast is mentioned, it is uncertain whether the feast of the passover or some other feast is spoken of. It is, therefore, only by the most minute investigation of particular events that the commentators have endeavoured to form a system, and unhappily the results they have arrived at, do not speak favourably of the process by which they have been deduced; for whilst some have come to the conclusion that the whole period of Christ's ministry lasted two years, others have extended it to four and even to five years.

It appears that, before the time of Eusebius, no one suspected that the ministry lasted more than one year, but when the work of Eusebius appeared, in the early part of the fourth century, and theology began to assume the form of a science, this, like every other subject, was examined and canvassed in a variety of ways, until there arose that great diversity of opinion which has since prevailed. It was from the scarcity, they say, of copies of the New Testament and the difficulty of bringing together and comparing the four gospels that the world so long acquiesced in the first opinion; but also that St John's gospel was then less known than it afterwards became. But this argument is dangerous to the antiquity of St John's gospel; for, if not known,

might not the enemies of its authenticity argue its non-existence ? This, it is true, would be to draw an inference from imaginary premises ; for there is no proof that the gospel of St John was less known before the time of Eusebius than the other three gospels. It is safer therefore to set aside all these opinions and inferences, and to be guided by a view of the gospels themselves, and not by Eusebius or any other authorities ; for the gospels are open to us as to them, and are indeed more accessible to us than they were in the fourth century, when copies of them were exceedingly dear and scarce.

The first three gospels plainly exhibit the events of only one year ; to prove them erroneous or defective in so important a feature as this, would be to detract greatly from their value—rather to nullify their authority—at least if we suppose them the work of God, or of prophets and apostles, who had witnessed the mighty works of Christ, and having seen him die upon the cross, were inspired by God to write a faithful account of his ministry. We cannot however convict them of such inaccuracy ; for the whole tenor of their narratives points to the speedy termination of Christ's career, and that he only visited Jerusalem at the passover which coincided with his crucifixion. Could it be believed that so long a time as three, four, or five years would have produced no more sensible effect even among so stubborn a people as the Jews ? Such wonderful cures and miraculous deeds would have filled the whole world, if they had been continued for so long a time ; and persons would have come from distant countries to see so wonderful a prophet—as the queen of Sheba came of old to see the wisdom and the riches of Solomon, or as pilgrims have gone in our days, from the farthest part of Europe, to witness the childish exhibitions which the knavery or folly of the Romish priests sets forth to deceive the unwary. Nothing however of this sort is recorded : and we justly infer from it that the ministry of Christ was short, as we read in the first three gospels, and did not extend to more than the period of one year.

This opinion is confirmed by certain indications, occurring in

other parts of the history. Thus at Matt. XXI, 10, where Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem is recorded, we read :

And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, "Who is this?" And the multitude said, "This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

Would this questioning have taken place, if Jesus had often made visits to Jerusalem, and been well known there? The multitude who answered the question, and who knew Jesus, consisted of those "who had come to the feast,"—St John * indicates this—but the people of Jerusalem knew him not, and therefore asked "Who is this?"

How then is the original divergency between the first three gospels and that of John to be explained? If Matthew, Mark, and Luke cannot be convicted of error, must we accuse John of having falsified the fact of history. As there is no appearance of an intention to mislead in his narrative, is it possible that the writer was himself ignorant of the truth, and can merely be handing down to us the accounts which he had received from others? If so, the writer or compiler of this gospel, as we now have it, was not contemporary with those facts—not to have known whether Christ's teaching ran through the space of one or of four years, or, at least, not to have stated this clearly for the benefit of his readers, shows clearly that the writer could not have been that John, Christ's beloved disciple, who was present at all the most important passages of his master's life, and who must have been able to settle this and every other doubt that might arise. This inference is the less to be avoided, if we admit, as is currently reported, that St John writes to supply the deficiencies of the former evangelists, and yet, so far from rectifying a most serious error, he has perpetuated a discussion, which, if we follow received opinions, is now farther from being cleared up than ever.

There is, however, a mode of explaining even this difficulty.

* "On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches &c."

The gospel of St John is even still more unchronological in its order than the other three: and its general character, having rather doctrine than history in view, authorizes our supposing—what is indeed evident in almost every part of it—that the various facts which it records are placed as subordinate to Christ's teaching, and as suited the peculiar view of the writer. The fragmentary character, also, of all the four gospels, showing that they have all been copied from tradition or from separate traditional anecdotes, would also have the effect of giving an unchronological and divergent appearance to the accounts of four separate compilers.

CHAPTER XIV.

UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE PLACE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

Respecting the time and place of Christ's birth, the evangelists Mark and John are altogether silent; for they begin their histories with the preaching of John the Baptist, and the appearance of Christ among those who throng to the banks of the river Jordan to be partakers of his baptism. St John does not name the place from which Jesus came for this purpose, but Mark is more explicit:

MARK i, 9. And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan.

This tallies exactly with the general idea, common to all the evangelists, that Christ resided in Nazareth during the early part of his life. But residence at a place does not imply that a man was also born there: as is shewn in the history before us: for two of the evangelists, Matthew and Luke, relate that Christ was born at Bethlehem, a village about six miles from Jerusalem. It is, indeed, very surprising that all the four evangelists have not related the fact of his birth at Bethlehem; for, as it was

essential to the Messiah that he should be a Jew, and of the seed of David, it might be objected to the gospels of Mark and John—if these were the only histories of Christ in existence—that having been born in Galilee, he might possibly not be a Jew at all.

As the general reader is apt to regard Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee as three districts of the same country, like three counties of England, it may be proper to explain the real nature of the connexion, which is not quite the same as in the case of the three counties.

We read in Tacitus [Annals, 12, 54], that in the year 32, i. e. two years after Christ was crucified, Cumanus a Roman had the government of Galilee, and that the inhabitants of the country waged a predatory war with their neighbours the Samaritans, who were under the government of Antonius Felix. This circumstance shows that there was at that time no common national feeling between the two states. The general tenor of the gospels leads also to the same inference, that the Samaritans, and, a fortiori, the Galileans, were aliens, and not included among God's chosen people. In fact, they were in the time of Christ a different people altogether, though it is true that they occupied the territory which had formerly belonged to the tribes of Issachar, Naphthali, Zebulon, Asher, and part of Dan. But the country was almost depopulated in the wars with the Babylonians, and had again been peopled by settlers of all nations. Strabo [760] enumerates among its inhabitants Arabians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, and, though they had, according to Josephus, 204 cities and towns in their country, and were a very industrious people, yet the Jews treated them with contempt, and their language was a mixed jargon—not the same which was spoken by the Jews at Jerusalem, as appears in the denial of Peter, who was instantly recognized by his dialect. In harmony with these facts, we find that the Jews held the Galileans in great contempt, and when told of the supposed birth-place of Christ, they asked, whether any good or any prophet could come out of Galilee and Nazareth.

Thus, then, we are justified in expressing some surprise that neither Mark nor John has alluded to the fact of Christ's having been born at Bethlehem, as a ready refutation of those who might contend that he was not a Jew at all.

St Matthew and St Luke, however, *have* recorded that Christ was born at Bethlehem; but it will be evident from an impartial perusal of their separate narratives, that the points of view, from which these two contemplate the birth at Bethlehem, do not coincide: for whilst St Matthew supposes that Christ's parents had always lived at Bethlehem before the flight into Egypt, St Luke tells us that they lived at Nazareth, and only went to Bethlehem for a short visit during which Mary gave birth to Jesus. The narratives of Matthew and Luke here follow.

MATT. 2, 1—23.

Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem,

2 Saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.

8 When Herod the king had heard **THESE THINGS**, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.

4 And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.

5 And they said unto him, In Bethlehem of Judæa: for thus it is written by the prophet,

6 And thou, Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a Governor, that shall rule my people Israel.

7 Then Herod, when he had privily called the wise men, enquired of them diligently what time the star appeared.

8 And he sent them to Bethlehem, and said, Go and search diligently for the young child: and when ye have found **HIM**, bring

LUKE 2, 1—52.

And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.

2 (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.)

3 And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.

4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judæa, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:)

5 To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child.

6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

7 And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

20 And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, as it was told unto them.

21 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called **JESUS**, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb.

22 And when the days of her purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought him to Jerusalem, to present **HIM** to the Lord;

23 (As it is written in the law of the Lord, Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord;)

24 And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, A pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons.

25 And, behold, there was a man in Jeru-

me word again, that I may come and worship him also.

9 When they had heard the king they departed: and lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was.

10 When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.

11 ¶ And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him: and when they had opened their treasures, they presented unto him gifts: gold, and frankincense, and myrrh.

12 And being warned of God in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed unto their own country another way.

13 And when they were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him.

14 When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt:

15 And was there until the death of Herod: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.

16 ¶ Then Herod, when he saw that he was mocked of the wise men, was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise men.

17 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying,

18 In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.

19 ¶ But when Herod was dead, behold, an angel of the Lord appeareth in a dream to Joseph in Egypt,

20 Saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel: for they are dead which sought the young child's life.

21 And he arose, and took the young child and his mother, and came into the land of Israel.

22 But when he heard that Archelaus did reign in Judæa in the room of his father Herod, he was afraid to go thither: notwithstanding, being warned of God in a dream, he turned aside into the parts of Galilee:

23 And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene.

salem, whose name was Simeon: and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.

26 And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ.

27 And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law,

28 Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said,

29 Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word:

30 For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, 31 Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people;

32 A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

33 And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.

34 And Simeon blessed them and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against;

35 (Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also,) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

36 And there was one Anna, a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asser; she was of a great age, and had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity;

37 And she was a widow of about fourscore and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day.

38 And she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.

39 And when they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

40 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him.

41 Now his parents went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover.

42 And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast.

43 And when they had fulfilled the days, as they returned, the child Jesus tarried behind in Jerusalem: and Joseph and his mother knew not of it.

44 But they, supposing him to have been in the company, went a day's journey; and they sought him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance.

45 And when they found him not, they turned back again to Jerusalem, seeking him.

46 And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions.

47 And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.

MATTHEW

LUKE

48 And when they saw him, they were amazed : and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold, thy father and I have sought the sorrowing.

49 And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?

50 And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them.

51 And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them : but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.

52 And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.

The evangelists here agree in fixing the birth at Bethlehem; but St Matthew supposed it—and not Nazareth—to be the place where Joseph and Mary had previously resided; or he would not have related that they feared to return into Judæa, and were so led to take up their abode at Nazareth which was not in Judæa. If St Matthew had known Christ's parents as having commonly resided at Nazareth, and that they were only on a visit of forty days at Bethlehem, he would not have thought it required an explanation, why Jesus should be called a Nazarene.

But St Luke knew that the family of Joseph were ordinarily inhabitants of Nazareth, and he therefore does not think it necessary to give any other reason for Christ's being called a Nazarene.

CHAPTER XV.

UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE TIME OF CHRIST'S BIRTH—ANACHRONISM OF THE CENSUS. CHRIST BORN BEFORE A.D. 1.

Concerning the *time* of Christ's birth there are even greater doubts than about the place; for, though the four evangelists have noticed several contemporary facts, which would seem to settle this point most accurately, yet on comparing these dates with the general history of the period, we meet with very serious

discrepancies, which involve the subject in the greatest uncertainty.

The data which the Gospels furnish for ascertaining the chronology are these :

1. The census, stated by St Luke [2, 1] to have been the cause of Mary's visit to Bethlehem, where her son Jesus was born.

2. The fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, marked, as St Luke tells us, by the following synchronisms :

LUKE 3, 1—3. Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene, 2 Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness. 3 And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

At verse 23 of the same chapter, we read, that at the same time.

Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age.

From these data, we should infer that Christ was born fifteen years before the emperor Tiberius came to the throne, and that the census alluded to by the writer took place in the same year. To the former part of this inference, we have nothing to object at present ; for the statement that Jesus was thirty years old, fifteen years after the death of Augustus, implies that he was born fifteen years before the decease of that emperor ; and no concurrent events are related, which enable us to dispute the truth of the account.

But the writer of St Luke's gospel is not correct in stating that a census or taxation, decreed by Cæsar Augustus, and executed by Cyrenius [in Latin Quirinus] furnished occasion for Mary's visiting Bethlehem, where her son Jesu was born, fifteen years before the death of the emperor Augustus. There is no mention in history of any census, or assessment of the whole Roman empire for the purpose of taxation, or indeed for any other purpose, as having been made at that time ; and even if such

a taxation had been made, it would not have extended to Judæa, which was still an independent country, under its king Herod the Great, and was not reduced to the form of a Roman province until ten years afterwards.

Is it then to be supposed that the account which St Luke's Gospel gives us of a census, is a pure forgery on the part of the writer, and that no such enrolment or mission of Cyrenius ever took place? Far from it—it is only necessary to suppose that the writer has committed an anachronism—not a forgery: for it is related by Josephus that Cyrenius did actually go into Judæa on a mission of the kind referred to by the evangelist about the year A. D. 10, and consequently ten years later than the birth of Christ. The affair is related by Josephus [Antiq. 13, 1, 1], in these words :

Cyrenius, a man of those who assemble in the senate, who had both discharged the other magistracies, and had gone through all so as also to have been consul, and who was in other respects great in estimation, came with a few attendants to Syria, having been sent by Cæsar to give justice to the nation, and to take an account of their substance. Coponius also a man of the equestrian order, is sent with him to hold supreme authority over the Jews.

But Cyrenius also came into the country of the Jews, which had been made an appendage to Syria, both to make a valuation of their substance, and to administer the property of Archelaus. But the people, although at first bearing ill their obedience to pay tribute, refrained from making any further opposition, by the persuasion of their chief priest Joazar, who was the son of Boethus. Overcome by the arguments of Joazar, they gave in a valuation of their property, nothing doubting.

There can be little doubt that this is the mission of Cyrenius which the evangelist supposed to be the occasion of the visit of Christ's parents to Bethlehem. But such an error betrays on the part of the writer a great ignorance of the Jewish history and of Jewish politics; for, if Christ was born in the reign of Herod the Great, no Roman census or enrolment could have taken place in the dominions of an independent king. If, however, Christ was born in the year of the census, not only Herod the Great, but Archelaus, also, his son was dead. Nay, by no possibility can

the two events be brought together; for even after the death of Archelaus, Judæa alone became a Roman province; Galilee was still governed by Herod Antipas as an independent prince, and Christ's parents would not have been required to go out of their own country to Jerusalem for the purpose of a census which did not comprise their own country Galilee. Besides which, it is notorious that the Roman census was taken from house to house, at the residence of each, and not at the birth-place or family rendez-vous of each tribe. It is in vain that harmonists and commentators have attempted to reconcile these conflicting accounts. There is no need of any other explanation than the obscurity of the history at the time St Luke's gospel was written. This view does not weaken the estimation in which every sensible man will hold both that and the other three gospels, which were written to perpetuate the glorious sentiments and teaching of Christ—not to teach us chronology.—It matters not what was the circumstance that led the holy family to Bethlehem: all we know about it, is, that it certainly was not the census, which did not happen until ten years afterwards, and which, if it had been in harmony as regards the time, would still have presented numberless difficulties, forbidding us to accept it in the manner which the evangelist has described.

There is another circumstance of some moment connected with the time of Christ's birth, which confirms our view, that the Gospels were not written until the events which they contain had become obscured by time. So important an occurrence as the intervention of the son of God to redeem and instruct mankind, might seem a likely subject to engage the attention of the world, and to occupy the pens of numerous writers to hand down to posterity every minute particular of so solemn a theme. To expect that nothing would be doubtful or unsettled about a person so exalted would be wholly natural and consistent with reason. That such an expectation would be in every way reasonable was admitted from the very beginning of the Christian Church: for not only do we date our time from the exact year in

which Christ is said to have been born, but our ecclesiastical calendar has determined with scrupulous minuteness the day and almost the hour at which every particular of Christ's wonderful life is stated to have happened. All this is implicitly believed by millions; yet all these things are among the most uncertain and shadowy that history has recorded. We have no clue to either the day or the time of year, or even the year itself in which Christ was born. Every thing about him is unknown, save the beneficent morality which he has taught us, but which we daily repudiate, and that short space of his life termed his 'Ministry,' when, as the Gospels tell us, he went about doing good, and had not where to lay his head. Notwithstanding the seeming accuracy of our Gospels, which tell us that in the "fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius—Jesus began to be about thirty years old," yet there has always been a doubt in the Church, whether a mistake of four years has not been made in fixing the first year of the Christian era. When we reflect that the present mode of calculating time, Anno Domini 2, 20, 30, 1800, &c. was not adopted until 500 years of our era had already passed, it will not be wonderful that there should be some difficulty in recovering dates that had for so long a time been neglected. But all such probabilities as these are based upon the supposition that the history is similar to other histories, and the whole question, of a *human*, not of a *divine* nature. For that which comes from God, suffers no obscuration by lapse of time—to Him especially is applicable that legal maxim, which we apply to our kings—*nullum tempus occurrit regi*. If the Gospels, written by his immediate inspiration, have once for all declared that his Son came in the flesh in the fifteenth year before the death of the emperor Augustus, that Herod the Great was still alive, and that a census of the whole Roman world was made in that year, we may be sure that all these points will be found to concur at the beginning of the year Anno Domini 1, so that no doubt may be raised or incredulity be entertained!

But, unhappily, there has been a doubt about the concurrence

of these things ; until it is at last universally allowed that it is certain those events do not concur at all, and that our present calculation of 1853 years since the birth of Christ is erroneous. It is true that no practical evil can result from this error ; for a conventional harmony between the years following A. D. 1, and those preceding that date has long been established. According to our best system of chronology, the birth of Christ is fixed at Dec. 25 or Christmas day at the end of the year Before Christ 1, so that, by neglecting the short space of time, six days, which remain to complete the year B. C. 1, we consider Christ's birth to coincide with the end of the year B. C. 1, and the beginning of the year A. D. 1. It is also agreed, that the year A. D. 1 shall coincide with the following dates :

1. The 1st year of the 195th Olympiad.
2. The consulship of Caius Cæsar and Lucius Æmilius Paulus.
3. The 32nd year of the reign of the emperor Augustus.

By this mode of synchronism, we find that 1853 years have passed, down to the present time,—not since the birth of Christ, but since the time conventionally fixed on as the end of B. C. 1 and the beginning of A. D. 1.

There can be no doubt that this system had its origin in too implicit a reliance on the words of the gospel, “ In the fifteenth year of the reign of the emperor Tiberius, Jesus began to be about thirty years old ”: for, since it has been usual to examine the grounds upon which history is founded,—a process not so general in the days of Dionysius Exiguus, who first used the date A. D.—we have discovered, that at the time fixed on for the birth of Christ, king Herod the Great had been dead nearly four years ! By the same discovery also it was evident, either that the history of Christ's persecution by Herod the Great is fictitious, or else, that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Jesus began to be—not about *thirty* but about *thirty-four* years of age.

The ecclesiastical historian, Sulpicius Severus, has observed, in his Chronicle [Hist. Sac. 2, 29]

Christus natus est Sabino et Rufo consulibus, 8 Calendas Januarias.

Christ was born in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufus, on the 8th day before the calends of January, i. e. Dec. 25, B. C. 1.

According to the observations made above, this would be correct; and we might be content to find that an unimportant error had been satisfactorily remedied. But other ancient writers are not found to be in agreement with Sulpicius on the one hand, or with the received system of chronology on the other.

Cassiodorus, who lived in the 6th century, says:

Caius Lentulus et Marcus Messala. His consulibus Dominus noster Jesus Christus filius Dei in Bethlehem nascitur anno imperii Augusti 41.

Caius Lentulus and Marcus Messala. In their consulship, our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, is born in Bethlehem, in the 41st year of the reign of Augustus.

The consulship of Caius Lentulus and Marcus Messala fell on the 3rd not the 4th year before A. D. 1: and Cassiodorus is supported in this account by Clement of Alexandria, who says, in his *Stromata*, 1, p. 340 B:

Γίνονται ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομόδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐνεήκοντα τέσσαρα, μὴν εἷς, ἡμέραι ιγ'.

From the time when the Lord was born until the death of Commodus, were in all, 194 years, one month, and thirteen days.

Commodus was slain A. D. 192, Dec. 31, so that our Lord's birth fell in B. C. 3.

But, unfortunately, the ecclesiastical historian Eusebius agrees with neither of the writers already cited, nor with the received chronological arrangement. In his *Ecclesiastical History*, 1, 5, he writes:

Ἦν δὲ οὖν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσερακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας Αἰγύπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς καὶ τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας—ὄγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστόν.

This was the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus, but of the subjection of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, the 28th year.

"Eusebius," observes Mr Clinton [*Fasti Hellenici*, vol. 3, p. 258], "like Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 2, 2, reckoned the years of

Augustus from the death of Cæsar." He therefore places the birth of Christ in the year B. C. 2.

Epiphanius, also, in his work *On Heresies* [liber 1, tom. 1, p. 48 B], says the same :

Τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως γεννᾶται ὁ Σωτήρ.

In the 42nd year of the emperor Augustus, the Saviour is born.

Zonaras [10, p. 544 B] and Orosius [6, 92] agree in placing the birth of Christ at the end of the second year before the beginning of our era.

Again, Tertullian, in his work *Against the Jews*, ch. 8, makes a calculation which fixes the birth of Christ both to the year B. C. 1 and B. C. 3, in the same sentence.

Videbimus quoniam quadragesimo et primo anno imperii Augusti, quo post mortem Cleopatæ imperavit, nascitur Christus. Et supervixit idem Augustus ex quo nascitur Christus annis 15.

We shall see that Christ was born in the 41st of the reign of Augustus dating from the death of Cleopatra. Augustus survived the birth of Christ 15 years.

The particulars of this notice do not agree together.

"41 + 15 = 56 years," as Mr Clinton observes, "do not express the interval." If Tertullian placed the Nativity fifteen years before the death of Augustus, he placed it in this year [A. D. 1]. But there is an error in the text of Tertullian. The reign of Augustus cannot by any possibility be dated from the death of Cleopatra, which happened only 30 years before Christ. It has therefore been proposed to substitute *Cæsaris* for *Cleopatæ*, but as Cæsar was slain 43 years before A. D. 1, in this case Tertullian places the Nativity in B. C. 3. Thus in the same sentence he gives conflicting dates.

Lastly; the evidence of an old Roman calendar, *Fasti apud Norisium*, may be brought for placing the birth of Christ, not at the beginning, but at the end, of the first year of our era :

Cæsare et Paulo [CONSULIBUS] Hoc consul. Christus natus est 8 cal. Jan,

Cæsar and Paulus. In this consulship, Christ was born on the 8th day before the calends of January—i. e. Dec. 25, A. D. 1.

From a consideration of all these different opinions, it may safely be inferred that it is impossible to determine the exact truth. All the writers here named have, no doubt, taken the statements of the gospels as the ground-work of their different systems of chronolgy; but, when we reflect that the statements of the Gospels are inconsistent with themselves and involve a dilemma, we are necessarily led to the inference that they are erroneous in one or other of the conflicting points—Either Christ was thirty four, not thirty, years old in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, or he was not born until four years after the death of Herod the Great. I leave it for those who worship the letter of the gospels and neglect or undervalue their spirit, to say which alternative they will choose.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, IN ST MATTHEW'S GOSPEL, INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE IMMEDIATE RETURN OF THE HOLY FAMILY TO NAZARETH, AS RELATED BY ST LUKE.

The same two evangelists who have related that Christ was born at Bethlehem in the days of Herod the king, have gone further into details concerning what took place at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, followed by the flight into Egypt, which do not agree together, and cannot be reconciled in any other way than by supposing that one of them was ignorant of some facts with which the other was acquainted. Thus St Luke tells us [*see the parallel extracts given in page 117*], that when Mary had made

the usual offering, for her purification, in the temple, 40 days after the birth of Jesus, the holy family immediately returned to Nazareth their usual place of residence. But if so, what becomes of the visit of the magi, and the flight into Egypt? There is no room for this to have taken place, for if the flight into Egypt and the tarrying there until the death of Herod are to be understood as following immediately after the birth, in that case Mary did not go to Jerusalem to present Christ in the temple. If, on the other hand, the offering in the temple is the first event after the birth, and the flight into Egypt followed, it is equally certain, that St Luke is wrong in saying that

When they had performed all things according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

The solution of this dilemma is to be found not by laboriously endeavouring to prove that two years intervened between events, which the writers have related in the same breath, as following closely one upon the other, but by admitting that the gospels, like all other writings, are liable to error, that the writers of the different gospels have put together all such separate narratives of particulars as came within their reach or seemed worthy of admission into their respective works. According to this view, we may infer—*must* indeed infer, for there is no reasonable alternative—that the writer of the Gospel according to Luke was not aware of the flight into Egypt, and therefore connects the return of Christ with his parents to Nazareth as immediately following the presentation in the temple, and the other incidents which took place during their short visit to Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELATION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S MINISTRY TO THAT OF CHRIST.

The most remarkable prophet or teacher among the Jews before the appearance of our Saviour upon earth, was John the

Baptist. The history of his miraculous conception, birth, and mode of life until the beginning of his public preaching, is related by Luke alone, who concludes his narrative [*chap.* 1, 5—80] with these words :

80 And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel.

Josephus alone, of all the profane ancient historians, has mentioned John the Baptist. The passages of his history where this notice occurs, have already been given in page 34 of this volume. They present an unimportant variation from the gospel narrative, not very difficult to be cleared up. Whilst the evangelist ascribes Herod's command that the Baptist should be beheaded, to the oath which he had sworn to his daughter-in-law, and the malice of his offended wife, Josephus attributes it to a political motive—the fear lest John might raise a sedition among the people. It is easy to see that, the fact being undoubted, the motive assigned for its commission may have varied according to the peculiar circumstances of the case. Whilst John's followers saw nothing but religious persecution, the politician may have seen nothing but precaution—political though unjust—in the cruel orders of the king. Nay, it is not impossible that the secret enmity instigated by his wife, may have been veiled by the more plausible appearance of regard for the public tranquillity ; or, in another point of view, that real solicitude for the tranquillity of his government may have lurked beneath his apparent readiness to gratify Herodias, ratified by the obligation of the oath which he had sworn.

In the scarcity of information respecting this singular ascetic we turn to the profane writers to gather what they have left us concerning the order or class to which the Baptist belonged.

The classical poet Juvenal mentions an order of priests called *Baptæ* or *Baptists*, dedicated to the service of the goddess *Cotytto* :

Cecropiam soliti Baptæ lassare Cotytto : [Sat. 2, 92]

The *Baptæ*, used to invoke the Athenian *Cotytto*.

Some have named Thrace as the soil from which the worship of the goddess Cotytto was imported into Greece. But, generally, the Grecian gods and religious ceremonies came from Egypt and Phœnicia; nor is it difficult to imagine that Thrace may have received from those countries the orgies, which she afterwards transmitted to Greece and Rome. At any rate, it is worthy of observation, that the Baptæ of the Romans are not mentioned by the more ancient classics, but only by those who lived about the time of the Christian era.

The idea of using water as emblematic of spiritual washing is too obvious to allow surprise at the antiquity of this rite. Dr Hyde, in his treatise on the Religion of the ancient Persians, ch. 34, p. 406, tells us that it prevailed among that people.

Pro infantibus non utuntur circumcisione, sed tantum baptismo seu lotionem ad animæ purificationem internam. Infantem ad sacerdotem in ecclesiam adductum sistunt coram sole et igne, qua facta ceremonia, eundem sanctiorem existimant. D. Lord dicit quod aquam ad hoc efferunt in cortice arboris Holm: ea autem arbor revera est Haum Magorum, cujus mentionem alia occasione supra fecimus. Alias, aliquando fit immergendo in magnum vas aquæ, ut dicit Tavernier. Post talem lotionem seu baptismum, sacerdos imponit nomen a parentibus inditum.

.

Postea anno ætatis 15o, quando incipit induere tunicam, sudra, et cingulum, ut religionem ingrediatur, et ille in articulis fidei versatur, a sacerdote ei datur confirmatio, ut ab eo tempore, inter numerum fidelium admittatur, et fidelis esse reputetur.

They do not use circumcision for their children, but only BAPTISM or washing for the inward purification of the soul. They bring the child to the priest into the church and place him in front of the sun and fire, which ceremony being completed they look upon him as more sacred than before. Lord says that they bring the water for this purpose in bark of the Holm-tree: that tree is in truth the Haum of the Magi, of which we spoke before on another occasion. Sometimes also it is otherwise done by immersing him in a large vessel of water, ut Tavernier tells us. After such washing or baptism, the priest imposes on the child the name given by his parents. . . .

Afterwards, in the 15th year of his age, when he begins to put on the

tunic, the sudra [a kind of cloak], and the girdle, that he may enter upon religion, and is engaged upon the articles of belief, the priest bestows upon him confirmation, that he may from that time be admitted into the number of the faithful, and may be looked upon as a believer himself.

The Manichæans, a Christian sect who followed the doctrines of Mani, are said by Beausobre to have administered baptism to children, conformably to the custom of the Persian Magi, "from which he [*Mani*] deviated as little as he possibly could." BEAUS. *liv. 9, ch. 6, sect. 16.*

We have positive evidence from Tertullian that the rite of baptism was used among the gentiles in his time. He says in his treatise *De Baptismo*,

Certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis tinguntur, idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem perjuriorum suorum agere præsumunt.

Nam et sacris quibusdam per lavacrum initiantur Isidis alicujus aut Mithræ. [CAP. 5.]

They are certainly dipped at the Apollinarian and Eleusinian solemnities, and they presume that they do this for the purpose of regeneration and impunity for their perjuries. . . .

At certain sacred rites of one Isis and Mithra they initiate themselves by dipping.

It has been thought that baptism was prevalent among the Jews also, long before the beginning of the Christian era. This is a subject which has not been very satisfactorily cleared up. Though there is no sure evidence disproving the existence of the rite, yet the evidence which is thought to establish the opposite view is not so conclusive as could be wished. We have seen from Josephus that John was surnamed the Baptist, because he baptized those who came to him. This seems to indicate that baptism was not usual among the Jews, and yet it seems to presuppose that the rite was not altogether unknown. In the days of Justin Martyr, [about A.D. 150] it is thought to have been practised among them; and the following passages from his works are supposed to bear reference to it.

Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖα αὕτη ἡ περιτομή, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μόνοις, ἵνα, ὡς προέφη, ταῦτα πάθητε ἃ νῦν ἐν δίκῃ πάσχετε. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα ἐκείνο τὸ ἀνωφελὲς τὸ τῶν λάκκων προσλαμβάνομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ βάπτισμα τοῦτο τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἐστι.

JUST. MAR. *Dial.* xix.

For, this circumcision is not necessary to all, but to you alone; that, as I said before, you may suffer those things which you now justly suffer. For neither do we adopt that useless baptism, the baptism in cisterns; for there is no communion between this baptism and that of life.

Δοξάζωμεν τὸν Θεόν, ἅμα τὰ ἔθνη συνελθόντα, ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπεσκέψατο· δοξάζωμεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς δόξης, διὰ τοῦ κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων. Εὐδόκησε γὰρ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἡδίων παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν λαμβάνει. Τίς οὖν ἔτι μοι περιτομῆς λόγος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μαρτυρηθέντι; Τίς ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος χρεία ἀγίῳ πνεύματι βεβαπτισμένῳ; Ταῦτα οἶμαι λεγὼν πείσειν καὶ τοὺς βραχὺν νοῦν κεκτημένους.

JUST. MAR. *Dial.* 29.

Let us glorify God, all ye assembled nations, because he hath also looked on us: let us glorify him through the king of glory, through the Lord of powers. For he hath been well pleased also with the gentiles, and receives sacrifices more willingly from us than from you. What account should I any longer make of circumcision, seeing that I have been borne witness to by God? What need of that baptism is there to one who has been baptized with the holy spirit? In saying these things, I think that I shall persuade even those who have very little sense.

But these passages are remarkably indecisive; and, even if they should be thought to point to a baptismal ceremony among the Jews, yet those who practised it, may have belonged to the sect of the followers of John the Baptist, who certainly continued for a long time to be distinct from the Christian community. See Acts 18, 25.

1. *John's preaching and doctrines.*

The peculiar doctrines of John the Baptist may be seen in the following passages from the early part of the four gospels concerning his first appearance as a teacher.

MATTHEW, 3, 1—12.

In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in the wilderness of Judæa,
 2 And saying, Repent ye: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

3 For this is he that was spoken of by the prophet Esaias, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

4 And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey.

5 Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan,

6 And were baptized of him in Jordan, confessing their sins.

7 ¶ But when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8 Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance:

9 And think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

10 And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

11 I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire:

12 Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

MARK, 1, 1—8.

The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God;

2 As it is written in the prophets, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

3 The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.

4 John did baptize in the wilderness, and preach the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins.

5 And there went out unto him all the land of Judæa, and they of Jerusalem, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins.

6 And John was clothed with camel's hair, and with a girdle of a skin about his loins; and he did eat locusts and wild honey:

7 And preached, saying, There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose.

8 I indeed have baptized you with water: but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.

LUKE, 3, 1—18.

Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judæa, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of Ituræa and of the region of Trachonitis, and Lysanias the tetrarch of Abilene,

2 Annas and Caiaphas being the high priests, the word of God came unto John the son of Zacharias in the wilderness.

3 And he came into all the country about Jordan, preaching the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins;

4 As it is written in the book of the words of Esaias the prophet, saying, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths strait.

5 Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough ways SHALL BE made smooth;

6 And all flesh shall see the salvation of God.

7 Then said he to the multitude that came forth to be baptized of him, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?

8 Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, That God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.

9 And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

10 And the people asked him, saying, What shall we do then?

11 He answered and saith unto them, He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise.

12 Then came also publicans to be baptized, and said unto him, Master, what shall we do?

13 And he said unto them, Exact no more than that which is appointed you.

14 And the soldiers likewise demanded of him, saying, And what shall we do? And he said unto them, Do violence to no man, neither accuse ANY falsely; and be content with your wages.

15 And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not;

16 John answered, saying unto THEM all, I indeed baptize you with water; but one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire:

17 Whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and will gather the wheat into his garner; but the chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable.

18 And many other things in his exhortation preached he unto the people.

JOHN, 1, 1—28.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.

2 The same was in the beginning with God.

3 All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made.

4 In him was life; and the life was the light of men.

5 And the light shineth in darkness: and the darkness comprehended it not.

6 ¶ There was a man sent from God, whose name was John.

7 The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all MEN through him might believe.

8 He was not that Light, but WAS SENT to bear witness of that Light.

9 THAT was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

10 He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not.

11 He came unto his own and his own received him not.

12 But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, EVEN to them that believe on his name:

13 Which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.

14 And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father,) full of grace and truth.

15 ¶ John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me: for he was before me.

16 And of his fulness have all we received and grace for grace.

17 For the law was given by Moses, BUT grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.

18 No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared HIM.

19 ¶ And this is the record of John, when the Jews sent priests and Levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou?

20 And he confessed, and denied not; but confessed, I am not the Christ.

21 And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No.

22 Then said they unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself?

23 He said, I AM the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias.

24 And they which were sent were of the Pharisees.

25 And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?

26 John answered them, saying, I baptize with water: but there standeth one among you, whom ye know not;

27 He it is, who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose.

28 These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.

There are some unimportant differences between the four evangelists in these extracts :

1. St Matthew says that the words, "O generation of vipers &c." were addressed to the Scribes and Pharisees—St Luke, to the multitude.

2. The first three gospels represent the Baptist as saying vaguely and in general terms, that a greater than himself was coming, without specifying him more minutely ; but St John is more definite—"There standeth one among you, whom ye know not."

3. The record of John concerning himself, "*I am* the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord,

MATTHEW, 3, 13—17.

13 § Then cometh Jesus from Galilee to Jordan unto John, to be baptized of him.

14 But John forbad him, saying, I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?

15 And Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer *IT* TO BE SO NOW : for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness. Then he suffered him.

16 And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water : and, lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove, and lighting upon him :

17 And lo a voice from heaven, saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

MARK, 1, 9—11.

9 And it came to pass in those days, that Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee, and was baptized of John in Jordan.

10 And straightway coming up out of the water, he saw the heavens opened, and the Spirit like a dove descending upon him :

11 And there came a voice from heaven, SAYING Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.

There is here, also, a variation in the four different accounts—of some importance. Three of the gospels relate a miraculous appearance, which, though seen by a multitude of persons, yet seems to have produced no result, and to have attracted no notice. But the fourth evangelist, it will be observed, limits the miraculous appearance to the physical or mental vision of the

&c.” [John 1, 23.] is represented by the three other evangelists as coming not from John himself, but from the writer [comp. Matt. 3, 3 : Mark 1, 3 : and Luke 3, 4].

This peculiarity, of running the thoughts of the writer into the mouth of the person speaking, is not uncommon with all the four evangelists, especially with the last, as we shall have frequent occasion to remark.

2. *First meeting of Jesus and the Baptist.*

The second class of extracts from the four gospels, concerning the Baptist, make us acquainted with the mode in which Jesus first met him and was baptized by him in Jordan.

LUKE, 3, 19—22.

19 But Herod the tetrarch, being reproved by him for Herodias his brother Philip's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done,

20 Added yet this above all, that he shut up John in prison.

21 Now when all the people were baptized, it came to pass, that Jesus also being baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened,

22 And the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape like a dove upon him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.

JOHN, 1, 29—36.

29 § The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.

30 This is he of whom I said, After me cometh a man which is preferred before me: for he was before me.

31 And I knew him not: but that he should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water.

32 And John bare record, saying, I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon him.

33 And I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending, and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.

34 And I saw, and bare record that this is the Son of God.

35 § Again the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples;

36 And looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith, Behold the Lamb of God!

Baptist alone. “John bare record, (*we read*) saying, I saw the spirit descending from heaven &c.” In other words we have, in St John's Gospel, the miracle related, not as a well-known occurrence, but resting on the word only of the Baptist. And it would appear from what follows, “And I knew him not, &c.” that the miracle was intentionally revealed to John the Baptist,

to enable him to distinguish the remarkable person of whom he was the forerunner. The reasonable inference is, that John told the people how he had been enabled to discriminate the Messiah, and that, in process of time, it was popularly believed that the whole multitude had seen the miracle. This opinion is strengthened by the other traditions to which we have already alluded,

MATT. 4, 12—17.

12 ¶ Now when Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, he departed into Galilee;

13 And leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast, in the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim:

14 That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Esaias the prophet, saying,

15 The land of Zabulon, and the land of Nephthalim, by the way of the sea, beyond Jordan, Galilee of the Gentiles;

16 The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.

17 ¶ From that time Jesus began to preach, and to say, Repent: for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.

MARK, 1, 14—15.

14 Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God,

15 And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.

There is no doubt that John the Baptist was imprisoned by Herod's orders, for we have the independent testimony of Josephus and of all the four evangelists; but there is an uncertainty as to the time, in relation to Christ's ministry, at which the imprisonment took place. It is difficult to bring the observation of St John above quoted, "For John was not yet cast into prison," into harmony with what the other three evangelists have written. They all relate that immediately or soon after the baptism, John the Baptist was cast into prison, and that Jesus, hearing of it, departed into Galilee. But the author of the fourth Gospel interposes several important events, and among others the marriage of Cana in Galilee, and a visit of Jesus to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover.

The didactic nature of St John's Gospel, apparently the least chronological of the four, would deter us from taking his nar-

[see p. 80], of other miraculous appearances seen at the baptism of our Lord, but not recorded in our four gospels.

3. *Imprisonment of the Baptist.*

The imprisonment of John the Baptist must next be examined.

LUKE 4, 14—15.

14 § And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee: and there went out a fame of him through all the region round about.

15 And he taught in their synagogues, being glorified of all.

JOHN, 3, 22—24.

22 § After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judæa; and there he tarried with them, and baptized.

23 § And John also was baptizing in Ænon near to Salim, because there was much water there: and they came, and were baptized.

24 For John was not yet cast into prison.

rative in preference to that of Matthew and Mark. But, if, as we might infer from the latter, Jesus retired into Galilee from fear of sharing the Baptist's fate, it would create surprise that he should choose the very dominions of Herod as his place of refuge, to escape falling into his hands.

4. *John's doubts about the Messiah-ship of Jesus.*

It appears from the general tenour of the first three gospels that the wonderful works of Christ speedily attracted the notice of John whilst in prison, and of his disciples, who seem still to have had free access to their matter. Two interviews between Jesus and the disciples of John are mentioned, but in both of them there is something to arrest attention. The first occasion arose from the disciples of John contrasting their own master's ascetic doctrine with the milder practices of Jesus.

The parallel notices of this matter from the gospels of Matthew Mark and Luke here follow.

MATT. 9, 14—17.

14 ¶ Then came to him the disciples of John, saying, Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?

15 And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, as long as the bridegroom is with them? but the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them, and then shall they fast.

16 No man putteth a piece of new cloth unto an old garment, for that which is put in to fill it up taketh from the garment, and the rent is made worse.

17 Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved.

MARK, 2, 18—22.

18 And the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast: and they come and say unto him, Why do the disciples of John and of the Pharisees fast, but thy disciples fast not?

19 And Jesus said unto them, Can the children of the bridechamber fast while the bridegroom is with them? as long as they have the bridegroom with them, they cannot fast.

20 But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days.

21 No man also seweth a piece of new cloth on an old garment: else the new piece that filled it up taketh away from the old, and the rent is made worse.

22 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles: else the new wine doth burst the bottles, and the wine is spilled, and the bottles will be marred: but new wine must be put into new bottles.

LUKE, 5, 33—39.

33 ¶ And they said unto him, Why do the disciples of John fast often, and make prayers, and likewise **THE** DISCIPLES of the Pharisees; but thine eat and drink?

34 And he said unto them, Can ye make the children of the bridechamber fast, while the bridegroom is with them?

35 But the days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast in those days,

36 ¶ And he spake also a parable unto them; No man putteth a piece of a new garment upon an old; if otherwise, then both the new maketh a rent, and the piece that was **TAKEN** out of the new agreeth not with the old.

37 And no man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish.

38 But new wine must be put into new bottles; and both are preserved.

39 No man also having drunk old wine straightway desireth new: for he saith, The old is better.

But the three evangelists do not wholly coincide in their accounts. St Matthew alone says that the disciples of John came and asked Jesus why his followers did not fast: Mark and Luke place the question in the mouths of the people who are represented as always following Jesus about.

On the second interview between Jesus and the disciples of John, the only two evangelists who relate it, St Matthew and St Luke, are agreed:

MATT. 11, 2—6.

2 Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples,

3 And said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?

4 Jesus answered and said unto them, Go and shew John again those things which ye do hear and see:

5 The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them.

6 And blessed is HE, whosoever shall not be offended in me.

LUKE, 7, 18—23.

18. And the disciples of John shewed him of all these things.

19 ¶ And John calling UNTO HIM two of his disciples sent THEM to Jesus, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?

20 When the men were come unto him, they said, John Baptist hath sent us unto thee, saying, Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?

21 And in the same hour he cured many of THEIR infirmities and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto many THAT WERE blind he gave sight.

22 Then Jesus answering said unto them, Go your way, and tell John what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached.

28 And blessed is HE, whosoever shall not be offended in me.

But it is in every way surprising that John the Baptist, who had before borne such noble testimony to the Messiahship of Jesus, should at last waver in his faith, and send two of his disciples to enquire whether Jesus really was he that should come, or they were to look for some other besides him. It has been justly remarked that John would really have been a reed shaken by the wind, if he could have wavered about so vital a point in so remarkable a manner.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS.

The reputed authors of the four gospels, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, are said to have been, two of them, of the number of the twelve apostles who were chosen from the first to be Christ's immediate followers; and the other two, Mark and Luke, to have been in the next rank to the apostleship, having been followers, one of St Peter, the other of St Paul. As the events which preceded the choosing of the twelve apostles, could not be known to them by the evidence of their own senses, but must have come to

them by the recital of others, we might make allowance for any discrepancies between the four evangelists on all those particulars, which they had received from others, and had not themselves witnessed. But it has unfortunately been the custom to ascribe to the four gospels, *a priori*, an immaculate character, which is to exempt them from examination, on the plea that they were inspired, word for word, by God. Be it so—we may then be sure that they *are* immaculate, as has been asserted : but even on this point they must be tried, and there is no other way of trying them than that which is usual with all other books, and with every kind of evidence admitted among mankind. If two of our Lord's apostles, and two who were followers of other apostles, wrote the gospels, as we now have them, by inspiration from on high, we shall undoubtedly find the most perfect agreement between them in every particular, even on those points which they had not themselves witnessed, but which they learnt from others, whilst the divine inspiration prevented them from making any error about the facts which they were writing. In describing the effects of the divine inspiration, it is not enough to say that it would guard them from material errors—all errors are material, on so solemn a subject—It would guard them from every error whatsoever, or it would be of no value. Indeed, to admit that the writers of the gospels were inspired, and then to speak of their contemporary character, and the means they had of knowing the truth, is the most futile work of supererogation that can be imagined. For the divine inspiration alone suffices—it would make the deaf to hear and the dumb to speak, and the man, who had never seen a pen, to write rapidly the solemn things which the Almighty wished to make known to the world, about its Lord and its Saviour. Error—mistake—anachronism—are words that can have no place in the vocabulary of God, and the gospels would only defy criticism, because they would make good their supernatural pretensions against any test that criticism could apply.

How different is this ideal description from the truth of things ! Notwithstanding the aid of inspiration, and the nearness of the

time, the four evangelists have not been able to tell us even the first event of Christ's ministry—his TEMPTATION—without differing one from another. And yet, if we interpret correctly the account given in John 1, 40—44, three disciples, Simon, Andrew, and Philip, had been chosen only the day before the temptation in the wilderness began. The first three gospels furnish the following accounts of the Temptation in the wilderness—placed in parallel columns :

MATT. 4, 1—11.

Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.

2 And when he had fasted forty days and forty nights, he was afterwards an hungered.

3 And when the tempter came to him, he said, If thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.

4 But he answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

5 Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple,

6 And saith unto him, If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down : for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee : and in THEIR hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

7 Jesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

8 Again, the devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them ;

9 And saith unto him, All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.

10 Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan : for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

11 Then the devil leaveth him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto him.

MARK, 1, 12—13.

12 And immediately the spirit driveth him into the wilderness.

13 And he was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan ; and was with the wild beasts ; and the angels ministered unto him.

LUKE, 8, 1—13.

And Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost returned from Jordan, and was led by the Spirit into the wilderness,

2 Being forty days tempted of the devil. And in those days he did eat nothing : and when they were ended, he afterward hungered.

3 And the devil said unto him, If thou be the Son of God, command this stone that it be made bread.

4 And Jesus answered him, saying, It is written, That man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God.

5 And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain, shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time.

6 And the devil said unto him, All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them : for that is delivered unto me ; and to whomsoever I will I give it.

7 If thou therefore wilt worship me, all shall be thine.

8 And Jesus answered and said unto him, Get thee behind me, Satan : for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

9 And he brought him to Jerusalem, and set him on a pinnacle of the temple, and said unto him, If thou be the son of God, cast thyself down from hence :

10 For it is written, He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee :

11 And in THEIR hands they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone.

12 And Jesus answering said unto him, It is said, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.

13 And when the devil had ended all the temptation, he departed from him for a season.

In all three, the Temptation is placed immediately after the baptism of Jesus. The language of Matthew, *Then was Jesus led &c.* [*Tóte then*], is the least decisive: but Mark is remarkably pointed *And immediately &c.* [*εὐθὺς directly, strait-forward*]: and all doubt is wholly dispelled by St Luke, who having in the previous chapter related the descent of the Holy Ghost, now tells us that “Jesus, being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordan, and was led by the spirit into the wilderness.”

Thus there is no doubt that all the three, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, place the temptation of Jesus immediately after his baptism in the river Jordan.

If now we turn to the gospel of St John, we find, to our surprise, that he not only passes over this remarkable scene altogether, but places the marriage at Cana of Galilee on the third day after Christ’s baptism.

JOHN 1, 35. Again, the NEXT DAY AFTER, John stood, and two of his disciples

1, 43. The DAY FOLLOWING, Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me, ...

The second chapter opens with the marriage at Cana:

JOHN 2, 1—11. And the THIRD DAY there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee; and the mother of Jesus was there:

2 And both Jesus was called, and his disciples, to the marriage.

3 And when they wanted wine, the mother of Jesus saith unto him, They have no wine.

4 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, what have I to do with thee? mine hour is not yet come.

5 His mother saith unto the servants, Whatsoever he saith unto you, do it.

6 And there were set there six waterpots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three firkins apiece.

7 Jesus saith unto them, Fill the waterpots with water. And they filled them up to the brim.

8 And he saith unto them, Draw out now, and bear unto the governor of the feast. And they bare it.

9 When the ruler of the feast had tasted the water that was made wine

and knew not whence it was : (but the servants which drew the water knew ;) the governor of the feast called the bridegroom,

10 And saith unto him, Every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine ; and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse : BUT thou hast kept the good wine until now.

11 This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested forth his glory ; and his disciples believed on him.

By this order of events, the scene of the forty days in the wilderness is altogether excluded, for the very days between the baptism in Jordan and the marriage are numbered. To reconcile such conflicting accounts is impossible, without rejecting one of them. It is better to reject the narrative of St John, for three reasons :

1. Because his silence about the temptation does not invalidate the testimony of the other three witnesses who relate it—and the only way to admit their testimony is to break the sequence of events observed by John.

2. Because the distance between the Jordan and Cana of Galilee is too great to allow the probability that Christ could have so soon got there.

3. Because the writer of the fourth Gospel relates incidental matters which show that he pays no regard to chronology, but only to Christ's teaching and miracles—He tells us that "his disciples believed on him"; but, seeing that only Philip, Andrew, and Simon Peter had been first brought into the company of Jesus the day before, it is rather premature to speak of his disciples—and very surprising that they should have followed him to the distance of seventy miles. But, unless they followed him, Jesus had no other disciples who *could* believe on him.

Thus we can only explain these contradictions by admitting that there are many mistakes and inaccuracies in the gospel-histories—as in every other book that ever yet was written ; and the way to deal with these is to meet them openly and candidly, not to explain them away in a manner which brings both the gospels and their annotators into manifest and merited contempt.

Admitting then that the temptation of Jesus followed closely after his baptism, we are startled and offended at the incidents of which it is made up. That the devil should appear personally to the Son of God is certainly not more wonderful than that he should, in a more remote age, have appeared among the sons of God, in the presence of God himself, to tempt and torment the righteous Job. But that Satan should carry Jesus bodily and literally through the air, first to the top of a high mountain, and then to the topmost pinnacle of the Temple, is wholly inadmissible—it is an insult to our understanding, and an affront to our Great Creator and Redeemer.

Must we then reject the moral as well as the literal acceptance of Christ's Temptation? By no means: the spirit of the Gospel runs through all Christ's history, teeming with life and light, where the letter of those ancient histories would slay. The moral lesson may be taken thus: Jesus, endowed with a master-mind by the gift of his Almighty Father, retires to meditate in that eastern wilderness, on the subject of his mission, and to prepare himself by prayer and fasting for encountering the lusts of the world, the stings of ambition, and the pride of life. Who will doubt that Jesus, if he could be supposed to give way to worldly ambition, might have gained that kingdom which he was charged with coveting? The thought of all these things, and the sight of the fair land of Judæa, for one moment cast their shadow over his spotless mind—but he spurns the tempter, described in the story as bodily present before him—"Get thee behind me, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." Is such a scene less real, less weighty in teaching a stern moral lesson, because it passes in the mind? Is evil less rife, less pernicious to us, because for eighteen hundred years we have never seen Satan bodily amongst us? Then indeed are we far advanced on the road to virtue, since vice no longer meets us in the shape of a being that has horns and hoofs.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES—VARIATION, 1. IN THEIR NAMES; 2. IN THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THEIR BEING CALLED TO THE APOSTLESHIP—THE SEVENTY.

It is related by two of the evangelists, Mark, and Luke, that Jesus chose twelve out of those who followed him, to be his immediate attendants. Matthew, without stating that Jesus chose the twelve, seems to imply that such a choice had been made, by naming them "the twelve," the "twelve disciples," &c. All the three furnish a list of their names, the occasion when Christ ordained them as a separate body, and the instructions which he gave to them when he sent them forth to preach.

MATT. 10, 1—4.

AND when he had called unto HIM his twelve disciples, he gave them power AGAINST unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease.

2 Now the names of the twelve apostles are these; The first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James THE SON of Zebedee, and John his brother,

3 Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican; James THE SON of Alphæus, and Lebbaeus, whose surname was Thaddæus;

4 Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, who also betrayed him.

MARK 3, 13—21.

13 And he goeth up into a mountain, and calleth UNTO HIM whom he would: and they came unto him.

14 And he ordained twelve, that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach,

15 And to have power to heal sicknesses, and to cast out devils:

16 And Simon he surnamed Peter;

17 And James the SON of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and he surnamed them Boanerges, which is, The sons of thunder:

18 And Andrew, and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas, and James the SON of Alphæus, and Thaddæus, and Simon the Canaanite,

19 And Judas Iscariot, which also betrayed him: and they went into an house.

20 And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread.

21 And when his friends heard OF IT, they went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself.

LUKE, 6, 13—19.

13 And when it was day, he called UNTO HIM his disciples: and of them he chose twelve, whom also he named apostles;

14 Simon, (whom he also named Peter,) and Andrew his brother, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew,

15 Matthew and Thomas, James the SON of Alphæus, and Simon called Zelotes,

16 And Judas the BROTHER of James, and Judas Iscariot, which also was the traitor.

17 And he came down with them, and stood in the plain, and the company of his disciples, and a great multitude of people out of all Judæa and Jerusalem, and from the sea coast of Tyre and Sidon, which came to hear him, and to be healed of their diseases;

18 And they that were vexed with unclean spirits: and they were healed.

19 And the whole multitude sought to touch him: for there went virtue out of him, and healed THEM all.

MATTHEW 10, 5—11, 1.

5 These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying, Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not :

6 But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

7 And as ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand.

8 Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils : freely ye have received, freely give.

9 Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,

10 Nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves : for the workman is worthy of his meat.

11 And into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter, enquire who in it is worthy ; and there abide till ye go thence.

12 And when ye come into an house, salute it.

13 And if the house be worthy, let your peace come upon it : but if it be not worthy, let your peace return to you.

14 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet.

15 Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

16 Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves : be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

17 But beware of men : for they will deliver you up to the councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues ;

18 And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles.

19 But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak : for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak.

20 For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.

21 And the brother shall deliver up the brother to death, and the father the child : and the children shall rise up against their parents, and cause them to be put to death.

22 And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake : but he that endureth to the end shall be saved,

23 But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another : for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of man be come.

24 The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord.

25 It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household ?

26 Fear them not therefore : for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed : and hid, that shall not be known.

27 What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light : and what ye hear in the ear that preach ye upon the housetops.

MARK 6, 7—13.

7 And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth by two and two ; and gave them power over unclean spirits ;

8 And commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, save a staff only ; no scrip, no bread, no money in their purse ;

9 But be shod with sandals ; and not put on two coats.

10 And he said unto them, In what place soever ye enter into an house, there abide till ye depart from that place.

11 And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust under your feet for a testimony against them. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

12 And they went out, and preached that men should repent.

13 And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them.

LUKE 9, 1—6.

Then he called his twelve disciples together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases.

2 And he sent them to preach the kingdom of God and to heal the sick.

3 And he said unto them, Take nothing for your journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money ; neither have two coats apiece.

4 And whatsoever house ye enter into, there abide, and thence depart.

5 And whosoever will not receive you, when ye go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your feet for a testimony against them.

6 And they departed, and went through the towns, preaching the gospel, and healing every where.

28 And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.

29 Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.

30 But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

31 Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows.

32 Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.

. . &c. &c. . .

CHAPTER XI.

AND it came to pass, when Jesus had made an end of enjoining his twelve disciples, he departed thence to teach and to preach in their cities.

Here we observe only eleven names occurring the same in all the three—Simon Peter and Andrew his brother, James and John [sons of Zebedee], Philip and Bartholomew, Matthew and Thomas, Simon the Canaanite or the Zealot, Judas Iscariot, and James the son of Alphæus. About the twelfth disciple, the evangelists are not agreed. Mark calls him Thaddæus; Matthew, Lebbæus, “whose *surname was Thaddæus”; Luke calls him Judas, and says that he was “of James.” Our authorized version supplies this blank by inserting the word, “brother” on the strength of the first verse of the General Epistle of St Jude.

Jude, the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James, to them that are sanctified &c.

But this reason is insufficient—there is nothing to show that the Jude of the epistle is the same person as the Judas of St Luke. But further, a blank between two proper names, in Greek, is always to be supplied, as in the cases before us, *James of Zebedee*, *James of Alphæus*, *Judas of James*, by *son* or *daughter*, according to the sex, not by *brother* or *sister*. We are therefore again thrown back to the only explanation of which the case admits, that either St Luke has made a mistake in naming the twelfth disciple Judas, or Matthew and Mark in calling him Thaddæus. Some of the commentaries try to clear up the difficulty by sup-

* This is an interpolation,—no doubt inserted, with either good or bad intent, to reconcile Matthew and Mark. The early manuscripts have not the sentence, “whose surname was Thaddæus.”

posing Thaddæus or Theudas and Judas to be the same name. But this, besides being a mere conjecture, would prove too much—it would admit Judas Iscariot among the claimants for the name of Thaddæus, and render the whole subject of these names infinitely more doubtful than before.

The gospel of St John, being less minute in historical particulars than the other three, has no list of the names of the twelve apostles.

Now it is remarkable that in a matter apparently so important as this, the three evangelists, who have undertaken to hand down to posterity the names of Christ's apostles, should not agree together in those names. According to the view which this work is written to maintain, there is no difficulty arising from this or any other similar discrepancy, either to the truth of Christianity or to the cause of general religion. But those who believe that the gospels are four separate and independent works written by four contemporaries of Christ, under the guidance of God's holy spirit, are bound to explain how it is possible for them to have made a mistake even in the names of those men, to whose labours we owe the establishment of Christ's religion, after their master was removed from the earth.

But we have not yet noticed all the inaccuracies to be found in one or other of the four gospels respecting the names of Christ's disciples. Matthew, who is termed "the publican" (see the list) by the gospel which he is preposterously supposed to have written himself, is elsewhere called Levi by St Luke and Levi the son of Alphæus by St Mark. The parallel accounts of his "call" here follow.

MATT. 9, 9—13.

9 And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man, named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him.

10 And it came to pass, as Jesus sat at meat in the house, behold, many publicans and sinners came and sat down with him and his disciples.

MARK 2, 13—17.

13 And he went forth again by the sea side; and all the multitude resorted unto him, and he taught them.

14 And as he passed by, he saw Levi the son of Alphæus sitting at the receipt of custom and said unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him.

15 And it came to pass, that, as Jesus sat at meat in his

LUKE 5, 27—32.

27 And after these things he went forth, and saw a publican, named Levi, sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me.

28 And he left all, rose up, and followed him.

29 And Levi made him a great feast in his house: and there was a great company of publicans and of others that sat down with them.

11 And when the Pharisees saw **IT**, they said unto his disciples, Why eateth your Master with publicans and sinners?

12 But when Jesus heard **THAT**, he said unto them, They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.

13 But go ye and learn what **THAT** meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

house, many publicans and sinners sat also together with Jesus and his disciples; for there were many, and they followed him.

16 And when the scribes and Pharisees saw him eat with publicans and sinners, they said unto his disciples, How is it that he eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners?

17 When Jesus heard **IT**, he saith unto them, They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

30 But their scribes and Pharisees murmured against his disciples, saying, Why do ye eat and drink with publicans and sinners?

31 And Jesus answering said unto them, They that are whole need not a physician; but they that are sick.

32 I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

We cannot doubt that Matthew the publican,—supposing him to have written the gospel—knew his own name; but it is very surprising that St Mark and St Luke, his contemporaries, did not know it also.

There is, in the next place, an historical inaccuracy in either St Luke, or in Matthew and Mark, respecting the call of the two pairs of brothers, Peter and Andrew, James and John.

MATT. 4, 18—22.

MARK 1, 16—20.

LUKE 5, 1—11.

18 ¶ And Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren, Simon called Peter, and Andrew his brother, casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers.

19 And he saith unto them, Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men.

20 And they straightway left **THEIR** nets and followed him.

21 And going on from thence, he saw other two brethren, James **THE** son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in a ship with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them.

22 And they immediately left the ship and their father, and followed him.

16 Now as he walked by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew his brother casting a net into the sea: for they were fishers.

17 And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men.

18 And straightway they forsook their nets, and followed him.

19 And when he had gone a little farther thence, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the ship mending their nets.

20 And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants, and went after him.

And it came to pass, that, as the people pressed upon him to hear the word of God, he stood by the lake of Gennesaret,

2 And saw two ships standing by the lake: but the fishermen were gone out of them, and were washing **THEIR** nets.

3 And he entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, and prayed him that he would thrust out a little from the land. And he sat down, and taught the people out of the ship.

4 Now when he had left speaking, he said unto Simon Launch out into the deep and let down your nets for a draught.

5 And Simon answering said unto him, Master, we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing: nevertheless at thy word I will let down the net.

6 And when they had this done, they inclosed a great multitude of fishes: and their net brake.

7 And they beckoned unto **THEIR** partners, which were in the other ship, that they should come and help them.

And they came, and filled both the ships, so that they began to sink.

8 When Simon Peter saw it, he fell down at Jesus's knees, saying, Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord.

9 For he was astonished, and all that were with him, at the draught of the fishes which they had taken:

10 And so was also James, and John, the sons of Zebedee, which were partners with Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon, Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men.

11 And when they brought their ships to land, they forsook all, and followed him.

The third evangelist represents the four as following Jesus in consequence of the miraculous draught of fishes, but Matthew and Mark, with less likelihood, omit the miracle. All the three lay the scene of their call in Galilee, near the lake of Gennesareth.

It may be observed, by way of proving how neglectful the gospel writers are of chronology, that St Luke places the miracle of raising Simon's wife's mother, before the call of Simon: St Matthew and St Mark place it afterwards.

MATT. 8, 14.—15.

14 And when Jesus was come into Peter's house, he saw his wife's mother laid, and sick of a fever.

15 And he touched her hand, and the fever left her: and she arose, and ministered unto them.

MARK. 1, 29—31.

29 And forthwith, when they were come out of the synagogue, they entered into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John.

30 But Simon's wife's mother lay sick of a fever, and anon they tell him of her.

31 And he came and took her by the hand, and lifted her up; and immediately the fever left her, and she ministered unto them.

LUKE 4, 38—39.

38 And he arose out of the synagogue, and entered into Simon's house. And Simon's wife's mother was taken with a great fever; and they besought him for her.

39 And he stood over her, and rebuked the fever; and it left her: and immediately she arose and ministered unto them.

In this comparison of the different accounts of the call of these four disciples, we have taken no notice of St John. We must now observe that his account is so entirely at variance with the three already narrated, that all the four cannot at the same time be true.

JOHN 1, 85—61.

35 Again the next day after John stood, and two of his disciples;

36 And looking upon Jesus as he walked, he saith, Behold the Lamb of God!

37 And the two disciples heard him speak, and they followed Jesus.

38 Then Jesus turned, and saw them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye?

They said unto him, Rabbi, (which is to say, being interpreted, Master,) where dwellest thou?

39 He saith unto them, Come and see. They came and saw where he dwelt, and abode with him that day: for it was about the tenth hour.

40 One of the two which heard John SPEAK, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother.

41 He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ.

42 And he brought him to Jesus. And when Jesus beheld him, he said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A stone.

43 The day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee, and findeth Philip, and saith unto him, Follow me.

44 Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter.

45 Philip findeth Nathanael, and saith unto him, We have found him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.

46 And Nathanael said unto him, Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth? Philip saith unto him, Come and see.

47 Jesus saw Nathanael coming to him, and saith of him, Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!

48 Nathanael saith unto him, Whence knowest thou me? Jesus answered and said unto him, Before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree, I saw thee.

49 Nathanael answered and saith unto him, Rabbi, thou art the Son of God: thou art the King of Israel.

50 Jesus answered and said unto him, Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig tree, believest thou? thou shalt see greater things than these.

51 And he saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Hereafter ye shall see heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man.

In this narrative the first remarkable circumstance is, that Judæa, near the Jordan, where John was baptizing, not Galilee, is the place where Jesus first meets with Peter, Andrew, and a third who is supposed to be John. Secondly these three, certainly two of them—seem to have been previously disciples of the Baptist, and now, as it were by a sudden impulse, become followers of Christ. Thirdly, a strange name, Nathanael, next occurs in conjunction with Philip, though it is not found in either of the first three gospels, and only in one other passage of St John's gospel, where, however, he is mentioned as if he was one of the twelve apostles or disciples. All this is wholly irreconcilable with the narratives of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who know nothing of Nathanael, and who place the call of Simon, Andrew, James, and John, in Galilee, where they usually lived and plied their trade of fishermen, not in Judæa where John the Baptist was baptising.

The last particular of disagreement between the evangelists consists in the silence of three on a most significant and important circumstance related by the fourth—the appointment of seventy disciples, subordinate to the twelve :

LUKE, 10, 1—20.

After these things the Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two and two before his face into every city and place, whither he himself would come.

2 Therefore said he unto them, The harvest truly is great, but the labourers ~~are~~ few : pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest.

3 Go your ways : behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves.

4 Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes : and salute no man by the way.

5 And into whatsoever house ye enter, first say, Peace ~~be~~ to this house.

6 And if the son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon it : if not, it shall turn to you again.

7 And in the same house remain, eating and drinking such things as they give : for the labourer is worthy of his hire. Go not from house to house.

8 And into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you :

9 And heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

10 But into whatsoever city ye enter, and they receive you not, go your ways out into the streets of the same, and say,

11 Even the very dust of your city, which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you : notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you.

12 But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable in that day for Sodom, than for that city. . . .

16 He that heareth you heareth me ; and that he despiseth you despiseth me : and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me.

17 And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name.

18 And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.

19 Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy : and nothing shall by any means hurt you.

20 Notwithstanding in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you ; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.

The whole case is so well put by a learned German critic, that, however distinct his line of argument may be from the specific object of this work, it would be difficult to explain the present subject in better words than his.

* “ Luke makes us acquainted with a circle of disciples, intermediate to the twelve, and the mass of the partisans of Jesus. He tells us (10, 1—17) that, besides the twelve, Jesus chose *other seventy also*, and sent them two and two before him into all the districts which he intended to visit on his last journey, that they might proclaim the approach of the kingdom of heaven. As the other evangelists have no allusion to this event, the most recent critics have not hesitated to make their silence on this head a reproach to them, particularly to the first evangelist, in his supposed character of apostle. But the disfavour towards Matthew on this score ought to be moderated by the consideration, that neither in the other gospels, nor in the Acts, nor in any apostolic epistle, is there any trace of the seventy disciples, who could scarcely have passed thus unnoticed, had their mission been as fruitful in consequences,

* Strauss, Life of Jesus, vol. 2, p. 92, Eng. Edition.

as it is commonly supposed. It is said, however, that the importance of this appointment lay in its significance rather than in its effects. As the number of the twelve apostles, by its relation to that of the tribes of Israel, shadowed forth the destination of Jesus for the Jewish people; so the seventy, or as some authorities have it, the seventy-two disciples, were representatives of the seventy or seventy-two peoples, with so many different tongues, which, according to the Jewish and early Christian view, formed the sum of the earth's inhabitants, † and hence they denoted the universal destination of Jesus and his kingdom. Moreover, seventy was a sacred number with the Jewish nation; Moses deputed seventy elders (Num. 11, 16. 27); the Sanhedrim had seventy members; the Old Testament, seventy translators.

Had Jesus, then, under the pressing circumstances that mark his public career, nothing more important to do than to cast about for significant numbers, and to surround himself with inner and outer circles of disciples, regulated by these mystic measures? or rather, is not this constant preference for sacred numbers, this assiduous development of an idea to which the number of the apostles furnished the suggestion, wholly in the spirit of the primitive Christian legend? This, supposing it imbued with Jewish prepossessions, would infer, that as Jesus had respect to the twelve tribes in fixing the number of his apostles, he would extend the parallel by appointing seventy subordinate disciples, corresponding to the seventy elders; or, supposing the legend animated by the more universal sentiments of Paul, it could not escape the persuasion that to the symbol of the relation of his office to the Israelitish people, Jesus would annex another, significative of its destination for all the kindreds of the earth. However agreeable this class of seventy disciples may have always been to the church, as a series of niches for the reception of men who, without belonging to the twelve, were yet of importance to her, as Mark, Luke, and Matthew; we are compelled to pronounce the decision of our

† Clem. Hom. 18, 4. Recog. Clem. 2, 42. Epiphan. Hær. 1, 5.

most recent critic precipitate, and to admit that the gospel of Luke, by its acceptance of such a narrative, destitute as it is of all historical confirmation, and of any other apparent source than dogmatical interests, is placed in disadvantageous comparison with that of Matthew. We gather, indeed, from Acts 1, 21, that Jesus had more than the twelve as his constant companions ; but that these formed a body of exactly seventy, or that that number was selected from them, does not seem adequately warranted."

It may be added to these observations of the learned professor, that the instructions given by Christ to the seventy, according to the narrative of St Luke, are almost identical even in words with those, which, according to Matthew, Mark, and Luke himself, he had before given to the twelve [*see page 146*]. We may therefore conclude that the single mission of the twelve had gradually been expanded by tradition into two, one of which was assigned to the twelve, the other to the seventy, before the history had been set down in writing.

CHAPTER XX.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

That the four gospels do not follow a strict chronological order in the events which they relate, has long been admitted even by their warmest advocates. With the exception of a certain rough outline—that Christ's ministry lay first and mainly in Galilee, and afterwards in Judæa and Jerusalem, we cannot obtain any thing like an approximative scheme of his travels through the countries and cities which he visited. Even where an attempt is made by the evangelists to connect the performance of some great miracle, or the delivery of some beautiful parable, with another event as following or preceding it, we find in almost every case that the four gospels differ in those attendant circumstances.

This is remarkably so in the case of the Sermon on the Mount—a most beautiful discourse, containing the heads of a moral law, that has been the admiration of every nation and of all ages—so excellent in every point of view, that charity can find no other reason than its surpassing and impracticable excellence for the apathy with which men seem agreed, whilst admiring it in theory, to reject it totally in practice!

The Sermon on the Mount consists of a series of maxims, each complete in itself, yet occasionally connected with those which follow or precede it, as the case may be, with parables and occasional apostrophes introduced, which give it a remarkably vivid and energetic character throughout, and render it a perfect specimen of all the peculiar modes in which Christ conveyed to his hearers the new and beautiful morality which he taught.

Yet, in spite of all these qualities, and of the far-famed reputation which this Discourse has met with throughout all Christendom, there is good ground for believing that such a collective body of maxims was never at any one time delivered from the lips of our Lord,—but that a number of separate and shorter discourses, spoken at different times, have been put together to form this more lengthened and admired Sermon. The reasons for entertaining this belief will be readily gathered from the following table, in which the Sermon on the Mount of St Matthew is placed in juxta-position with the disjointed maxims of it, which are found in the other gospels, shewing certain peculiarities which deny to it the character of being a distinct and independent discourse.

MATT. 5, 1—7, 29.

And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain: and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:

2 And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

3 Blessed *are* the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

LUKE 6, 20—26.

20 And he lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said, Blessed *be ye* poor: for yours is the kingdom of God.

4 Blessed *are* they that mourn : for they shall be comforted.

5 Blessed *are* the meek : for they shall inherit the earth.

6 Blessed *are* they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness : for they shall be filled.

7 Blessed *are* the merciful : for they shall obtain mercy.

8 Blessed *are* the pure in heart : for they shall see God.

9 Blessed *are* the peacemakers : for they shall be called the children of God.

10 Blessed *are* they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake : for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

11 Blessed *are* ye, when *men* shall revile you, and persecute *you*, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

12 Rejoice, and be exceeding glad : for great *is* your reward in heaven : for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.

13 Ye are the salt of the earth : but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted ? it is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men.

14 Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

15 Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick ; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.

16 Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.

21 Blessed **ARE YE** that hunger now : for ye shall be filled. Blessed **ARE YE** that weep now : for ye shall laugh.

22 Blessed *are* ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you **FROM THEIR COMPANY**, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man's sake.

23 Rejoice ye in that day, and leap for joy : for, behold, your reward is great in heaven : for in the like manner did their fathers unto the prophets.

24 But woe unto you that are rich ! for ye have received your consolation.

25 Woe unto you that are full ! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now ! for ye shall mourn and weep.

27 Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you ! for so did their fathers to the false prophets.

MARK 9, 50. Salt is good : but if the salt have lost his saltiness, wherewith will ye season it ? Have salt in yourselves, and have peace one with another.

LUKE 14, 34. Salt is good : but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned ? 35 It is neither fit for the land, nor yet for the dunghill ; but men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

MARK 4, 21. And he said unto them, Is a candle brought to be put under a bushel, or under a bed ? and not to be set on a candlestick ?

LUKE 8, 16. No man, when he hath lighted a candle, covereth it with a vessel, or putteth it under a bed ; but setteth it on a candlestick, that they which enter in may see the light.

LUKE 11, 33. No man, when he hath lighted a candle, putteth it in a secret place, neither under a bushel, but on a candlestick, that they which come in may see the light.

17 Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil.

18 For verily I say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled.

19 Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach *them*, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.

20 For I say unto you, That except your righteousness shall exceed *the righteousness* of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

21 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment:

22 But I say unto you, That whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire.

23 Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee;

24 Leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

25 Agree with thine adversary quickly, whiles thou art in the way with him; lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast into prison.

26 Verily I say unto thee, Thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.

27 Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery:

28 But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.

29 And if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell.

30 And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast *it* from thee: for it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not *that* thy whole body should be cast into hell.

MATT. 18, 8—9. Wherefore if thine hand

LUKE 16, 17. And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.

LUKE 12, 58—59. When thou goest with thine adversary to the magistrate, as thou art in the way, give diligence that thou mayest be delivered from him, lest he hale thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and the officer cast thee into prison. 59 I tell thee, thou shalt not depart thence, till thou hast paid the very last mite.

MARK, 9, 43—48. And if thy hand offend thee, cut it off: it is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into the fire that never shall be quenched: Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched. And if thine eye offend thee pluck it out: it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire. Where their worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched.

or thy foot offend thee, cut them off and cast them from thee ; it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into everlasting fire. 9 And if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee : it is better for thee to enter into life with one eye, rather than having two eyes to be cast into hell fire.

31 It hath been said, Whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement :

MATT. 19, 7. Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away ?

32 But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery : and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery.

MATT. 19, 9. And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another committeth adultery ; and whoso marieth her that is put away, doth commit adultery.

33 Again, ye have heard that it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt 'not forswear thyself, but shalt perform unto the Lord thine oaths :

34 But I say unto you, Swear not at all ; neither by heaven ; for it is God's throne :

35 Nor by the earth, for it is his footstool : neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King.

36 Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black.

37 But let your communication be, Yea, yea ; Nay, nay : for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil.

38 Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth :

39 But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall

MARK, 10, 4. Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away.

MARK 10, 11, 12. And he saith unto them, Whosoever shall put away his wife, and marry another, committeth adultery against her. 12 And if a woman shall put away her husband, and be married to another, she committeth adultery.

LUKE 16, 18. Whosoever putteth away his wife, and marieth another, committeth adultery : and whosoever marieth her that is put away from her husband committeth adultery.

LUKE 6, 29—31.

29 And unto him that smiteth thee on

smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.

40 And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have *thy* cloke also.

41 And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.

42 Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.

43 Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.

44 But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you ;

45 That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

46 For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye ? do not even the publicans the same ?

47 And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more *than others* ? do not even the publicans so ?

48 Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect.

the *ONE* cheek offer also the other ; and him that taketh away thy cloke forbid not to TAKE THY coat also.

30 Give to every man that asketh of thee ; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask *THEM* not again.

31 And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.

LUKE 6, 27—28.

27 But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you,

28 Bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.

LUKE 6, 32—36.

32 For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye ? for sinners also love those that love them.

33 And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye ? for sinners also do even the same.

34 And if ye lend to *THEM* of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye ? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again.

35 But love ye your enemies, and do good, and lend, hoping for nothing again ; and your reward shall be great, and ye shall be the children of the Highest : for he is kind unto the unthankful and to the evil.

36 Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.

CHAPTER 6.

Take heed that ye do not your alms before men, to be seen of them : otherwise ye have no reward of your Father which is in heaven.

2 Therefore when thou doest *thine* alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

3 But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth :

4 That thine alms may be in secret : and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly.

5 And when thou prayest, thou shalt not be as the hypocrites *are* : for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners *of* the streets, that they may be seen of men.

6 But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret ; and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.

7 But when ye pray, use not vain repetitions, as the heathen *do* : for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking.

8 Be not ye therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him.

9 After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name.

10 Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as *it is* in heaven.

11 Give us this day our daily bread.

12 And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.

13 And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

14 For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:

15 But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.

16 Moreover when ye fast, be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward.

17 But thou, when thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face;

18 That thou appear not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly.

19 Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal:

20 But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal:

21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

22 The light of the body is the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light.

23 But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If therefore the light that is

LUKE 11, 2—4. Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in Heaven, so in earth.

Give us day by day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins; for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.

MARK 11, 25, 26. And when ye stand praying, forgive if ye have aught against any: that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses. But if ye do not forgive, neither will your Father which is in heaven forgive your trespasses.

LUKE 12, 33—34.

Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.

LUKE 11, 34—36.

The light of the body is the eye: therefore when thine eye is single, thy whole body also is full of light; but when thine eye is evil, thy body also is full of darkness. Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee is not darkness. If thy whole body therefore be full of light, having no part dark, the whole shall be full of light, as when the bright shining of a candle doth give thee light.

in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!

24 No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other, or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

25 Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?

26 Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?

27 Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature?

28 And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin:

29 And yet I say unto you, That even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

30 Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven, *shall he* not much more *clothe* you, O ye of little faith?

31 Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?

32 (For after all these things do the Gentiles seek:) for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things.

33 But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.

34 Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day *is* the evil thereof.

LUKE 16, 13.

No servant can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.

LUKE 12, 22—31.

22 And he said unto his disciples, Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat; neither for the body, what ye shall put on.

23 The life is more than meat, and the body is **MORE** than raiment.

24 Consider the ravens: for they neither sow nor reap; which neither have storehouse nor barn; and God feedeth them: how much more are ye better than the fowls?

25 And which of you with taking thought can add to his stature one cubit?

26 If ye then be not able to do that thing which is least, why take ye thought for the rest?

27 Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.

28 If then God so clothe the grass, which is to day in the field, and to morrow is cast into the oven; how much more **WILL HE CLOTHE** you, O ye of little faith?

29 And seek not ye what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, neither be ye of doubtful mind:

30 For all these things do the nations of the world seek after: and your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things.

31 But rather seek ye the kingdom of God; and all these things shall be added unto you.

CHAPTER VII.

Judge not, that ye be not judged.

2 For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

3 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

4 Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull the mote out of thine eye; and behold a beam is in thine own eye?

5 Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

6 Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.

7 Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you;

8 For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.

9 Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?

10 Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent?

11 If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?

12 Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

13 Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat:

MARK 4, 24. And he said unto them, Take heed what ye hear: with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you: and unto you that hear shall more be given.

37 Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven:

38 Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again.

39 And he spake a parable unto them, Can the blind lead the blind? shall they not both fall into the ditch?

40 The disciple is not above his master: but every one that is perfect shall be as his master.

41 And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

42 Either how canst thou say to thy brother, Brother, let me pull out the mote that is in thine eye, when thou thyself beholdest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, cast out first the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to pull out the mote that is in thy brother's eye.

LUKE 11, 9, 10. And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you: seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. For every one that asketh receiveth; and he that seeketh findeth; and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children: how much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?

LUKE 13, 24. Strive to enter in at the strait gate: for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

14 Because strait *is* the gate, and narrow *is* the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.

15 Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

16 Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?

17 Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

18 A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither *can* a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

19 Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

20 Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

MATT. 3, 10. And now also the ax is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

MATT. 12, 33. Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit.

21 Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.

22 Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?

23 And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

24 Therefore whosoever heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock:

25 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock.

43 For a good tree bringeth not forth corrupt fruit; neither doth a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

44 For every tree is known by his own fruit. For of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes.

45 A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil: for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh.

LUKE 3, 9. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: every tree therefore which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.

46 And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

47 Whosoever cometh to me, and heareth my sayings and doeth them, I will shew you to whom he is like:

48 He is like a man which built an house, and digged deep, and laid the foundation on a rock: and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon that house, and could not shake it: for it was founded upon a rock.

26 And every one that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand :

27 And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house ; and it fell : and great was the fall of it.

28 And it came to pass, when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine :

29 For he taught them as *one* having authority, and not as the scribes.

49 But he that heareth, and doeth not, is like a man that without a foundation built an house upon the earth ; against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell ; and the ruin of that house was great.

MARK 1, 22. And they were astonished at his doctrine : for he taught them as one that had authority and not as the scribes.

The ‘reasons,’ which this harmony furnishes, for doubting the original separate character of a Sermon on the Mount, are these.

1. Because it is only in Matthew’s gospel that the discourse so called is found in a perfect state.

2. Because in all the other gospels are found, sparsim and disconnectedly, only a variety of maxims, used by Christ on different occasions, in part the same as those which have been gathered by Matthew under one head.

3. Because some of the very maxims which Matthew includes in the Sermon on the Mount, occur elsewhere again even in St Matthew’s own gospel as spoken by Christ at other times.

4. Because some of the said maxims are found elsewhere, as spoken not by Jesus, but by John the Baptist.

5. The appellation *Sermon on the Mount* has been adopted in later times to designate a discourse which does not stand forward with any particular prominence even in the gospel according to St Matthew.

6. Because the beginning and the end of Matthew’s “Sermon on the Mount” are given by St Luke, but with every circumstance of time, place and manner diametrically opposed to what is found in the gospel according to St Matthew—This last reason demands a few words of explanation.

Time—According to St Matthew, Jesus, having returned from

the wilderness of Judæa into Galilee, calls Simon Peter, Andrew, James and John, and immediately afterwards heals all that are brought unto him, and, seeing the multitudes, goes up into a mountain and delivers the Sermon on the Mount. The *time* therefore is evidently fixed by Matthew at the very beginning of Christ's ministry. But in the paralled history of St Luke, a much longer space of time is supposed to have passed between the Temptation in the wilderness and the Sermon on the Mount—all the events of chapters 4, 5, and half of chap. 6—and they are very numerous—are interposed between those two points of time.

Place—The locality of the Sermon, according to St Matthew, was the mountain, into which Jesus went up: but in St Luke, he is represented as having gone up “into a mountain to pray,” and “continued all night in prayer to God (6, 12).” He is then said to have gone down again from the mountain in the morning before he addressed the multitude.

Luke 6, 17, And he came down with them and stood in the plain &c,

These two versions of the story are irreconcilable the one with the other.

Manner—But the manner in which Christ delivered this discourse is also differently set forth by the two evangelists. In St Matthew's gospel he is made to address the people in a sitting posture.

And seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain and when he was set, his disciples came unto him (5, 1).

But in St Luke's account he is said to have gone down and stood in the plain.

Thus we have not conformity, either of *time*, *place*, or *manner*, in the accounts of the two evangelists who have told us all we know about the Sermon on the Mount—and are led by this and the other reasons above stated, to doubt whether it ever was delivered at all as a separate discourse,—whether its present state is not rather an embodiment of various moral sentences grouped together by tradition or the fanciful arrangement of the writer.

CHAPTER XXI—THE LORD'S PRAYER.

If we would derive from the books of the New Testament the benefit which they are best qualified to furnish, we shall dwell less upon their historical accuracy, and more upon their practical and moral use. The subjects, which have occupied our attention in the preceding chapters, must have led the reader to perceive that the four gospels cannot be received as accurate and literal histories. In his anxiety to hold fast on those beautiful truths contained in this cherished book, which were taught him in his childhood, and to which his soul cleaves, as to a part of her own nature, he must acknowledge the propriety of casting much overboard in order to escape making shipwreck of the whole. His true consolation is that not the lovely but the odious elements of his nature will be jarred by the sacrifice which he is called upon to make. The spirit of the Christian book will still remain with us, when we no longer reverence the letter that killeth. Now, says the apostle, abide Faith, Hope, Charity—these three ; but the greatest of them is Charity. In the name, then, of the great Apostle who spake these words, we may proceed with our work, without fear or hesitation—certain that the greatest of Christian virtues is as safe from danger by these speculations as the rock of adamant amid the waves which fall and are broken against its base. The Christian religion has always suffered from the rash zeal of its real or pretended adherents. Its merciful doctrines, found in the New Testament, have ever been clouded by the deep shadows cast upon them by the literal interpretation of that book. By freeing the New Testament from the trammels which involve it, we may alone hope to give it a more vital circulation in the hearts rather than in the lips or in the hands of the multitude. There is no way so certain, of bringing the gifts of providence into contempt as to magnify them beyond the place which they justly occupy in the scale of things. In proportion as this evil is great, is its remedy difficult. Hence the vulgar

apprehension that long established error is safer than novel truth—hence the feeling, too common, but culpably erroneous, that on the most serious and momentous of all the subjects which can interest us, it is possible for ignorance to be bliss, and that it may be folly to be wise. If we have proved by the arguments contained in the last Chapter that the Sermon on the Mount is to be regarded rather as a compilation of Christ's sayings, possessing no separate original character of its own, though we may cease henceforth to regard it in this latter light, yet our respect for the moral lessons which it conveys will suffer no diminution—In the same way, no offence need be felt if we proceed to find a similar want of authenticity in what is commonly called 'The Lord's prayer,' a short but beautiful effusion, adopted by Christians in every age and clime, and bearing the character of having been delivered by Christ to his disciples, at their own request, as a mode of addressing their Father which is in Heaven, and of pouring out their petitions to the throne of grace. It must be remembered, that what we are here concerned with, is simply to bring the evidence which the 'Lord's Prayer' furnishes to bear upon the question, about what time the gospels, in which that Prayer is found, were written. Without raising a doubt or a question whether the Lord's Prayer was really given by Christ or not—such a surmise would be only worthy of that senseless scepticism which doubts every thing—we yet are justified in suggesting a doubt as to the time when that beautiful and simple prayer was first reduced to writing. Two copies of the Lord's Prayer have come down to us—they are found in the gospels of St Matthew [6, 9—13] and St Luke [11, 2—4]. They may be seen at page 160 of this volume in the usual version: the Greek text here follows in parallel columns:

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρα-
νοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·

Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς
ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρα-
νοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·

Ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς
ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·

Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιού-
σιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον.

Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλή-
ματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίε-
μεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. Καὶ
μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασ-
μὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
πονηροῦ.

“Οτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία,
καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας·

Ἀμήν.

Τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιού-
σιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν·

Καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας
ἡμῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν
παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν. Καὶ
μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασ-
μὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ
πονηροῦ.

The first difference to be noticed between the two gospels on the subject of the Lord’s prayer, regards the occasion when each of the two represents it as having been delivered. St Matthew introduces it into the Sermon on the Mount, and therefore refers it to the very beginning of Christ’s ministry. But St Luke says, at 11, 1 ;

And it came to pass, that, as he was praying in a certain place, when he ceased, one of his disciples said unto him, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.

2 And he said unto them, when ye pray, say, Our Father &c.

This took place at a much more advanced period of Christ’s ministry, and has nothing to do with the Sermon on the Mount. The account of St Luke is also more probable, by its giving an occasion for the delivery of the Prayer. Christ’s disciples, unwilling to be at a disadvantage with the disciples of John the Baptist, ask their master to furnish them also with a form of prayer, as John had already done to his followers.

But, secondly, the two copies of the Lord’s prayer do not agree together. St Matthew’s copy adds a whole sentence, “For thine is the kingdom,” &c. which is omitted by St Luke. This is of no consequence to those who regard the evangelists generally as having saved all they could from the wreck of time, but those who refer these writings to the direct inspiration of the Almighty, are bound to explain the principles upon which they can ascribe to

such a source two copies of a document so important, because so generally used by Christians, yet differing so much the one from the other.

CHAPTER XXII.

DEVELOPMENT OF LATER IDEAS.

A striking witness to the late composition of the gospels is furnished by expressions, denoting ideas that could not have had any being in the time of Christ and his disciples, but must have been developed afterwards, at a time when the Christian religion was established on a broader and still increasing basis.

1. The first instance of this anticipation of ideas occurs in the words which St John's gospel places in the mouth of John the Baptist :

JOHN 1, 15. John bare witness of him, and cried, saying, This was he of whom I spake, He that cometh after me is preferred before me : for he was before me. 16 And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace. 16 For the law was given by Moses, *but* grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. 18 No man hath seen God at any time, the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared *him*.

These words appear to have been spoken by John the Baptist, as the record which he bare to Christ. But the latter part, "And of his fulness &c." could not be spoken by John ; for the things there spoken of as resulting from Christ's coming, had not yet resulted. Neither John the Baptist nor the multitude he was addressing, had yet received either grace or fulness from Christ. "The only-begotten Son, which was in the bosom of the Father," had not then "declared him," nor was he at all known to the world, when these words are thought to have been spoken. The truth is that these words were not spoken by John the Baptist at all, but flow from the thoughts of the writer, who knew not where to stop, but having once taken up the words of the Baptist, is borne along in the same tenour, and gives utterance to senti-

ments, which apply not to the Baptist but to himself, and to the aspect of things in his own time.

2. A still more remarkable form of words is ascribed by the evangelists repeatedly to Christ himself; and a grave anachronism is the result. The word *cross* is used metaphorically by Christ in numerous passages :

MATT. 10, 38. And he that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me.

MATT. 16, 24. Then said Jesus unto his disciples, "If any *man* will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."

MARK 8, 34. And when he had called the people *unto him* with his disciples also, he said unto them, "Whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

MARK 10, 21. Then Jesus beholding him loved him, and said unto him, "One thing thou lackest : go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven : and come, take up the cross, and follow me."

LUKE 9, 23. And he said unto them all, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me."

LUKE 14, 27. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple.

When these exhortations to patience, fortitude, and perseverance were delivered, the Jews did not know the meaning of the word *cross*, used metaphorically for Christian patience under affliction and perseverance in Christian well-doing. It was only after Christ had suffered on the cross, that the word acquired that signification, or the thing itself that reverence which it has since received. There may be no doubt that Christ called on the parties to follow him, and to become his disciples, but he would not use for that purpose a word which his hearers could not understand. Some may think that there is an analogy between this misuse of the word *cross* and the exclamation of the Jewish multitude, demanding the execution of our Lord. "Crucify him ! crucify him !" is said to have been their cry, and we might here substitute another word better suited to the modes of execution practised among the Jews : but this argument is not quite conclusive, for,

though the Roman supremacy over Judæa had not long existed, yet it is possible the people of Jerusalem would be sufficiently aware that crucifixion was the ordinary Roman punishment.

3. Again : we observe a similar incoherence of words and ideas in Christ's address to his disciples, concerning John the Baptist, then in prison.

It is related in Matthew's gospel, chap. 11, v. 2 :

Now when John had heard in the prison the works of Christ, he sent two of his disciples, 3 And said unto him, Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another ?

When John's messengers were gone, a conversation takes place on the subject between Jesus and his disciples—it is related both by St Matthew and St Luke :

MATT. 11, 7—19.

7 And as they departed, Jesus began to say unto the multitude concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness to see ? A reed shaken with the wind ?

8 But what went ye out for to see ? A prophet ? behold, they that wear soft *clothing* are in kings' houses.

9 But what went ye out for to see ? A prophet ? yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet.

10 For this is *he*, of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

11 Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist : notwithstanding he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he.

12 And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.

13 For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John.

14 And if ye will receive *it*, this is Elias, which was for to come.

LUKE 7, 24—35.

24 And when the messengers of John were departed, he began to speak unto the people concerning John, What went ye out into the wilderness for to see ? A reed shaken with the wind ?

25 But what went ye out for to see ? A prophet ? Yea, I say unto you, Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in king's courts.

26 But what went ye out for to see ? A prophet ? Yea, I say unto you, and much more than a prophet.

27 This is *he* of whom it is written, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before thee.

28 For I say unto you, Among those that are born of women there is not a greater prophet than John the Baptist : but he that is least in the kingdom of God is greater than he.

29 And all the people that heard *him*, and the publicans, justified God, being baptized with the baptism of John.

30 But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against

15 He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

16 But whereunto shall I liken this generation ? It is like unto children sitting in the markets, and calling unto their fellows,

17 And saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced ; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.

18 For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil.

19 The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. But wisdom is justified of her children.

themselves, being not baptized of him.

31 And the Lord said, Whereunto then shall I liken the men of this generation ? and to what are they like ?

32 They are like unto children sitting in the marketplace, and calling one to another, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced ; we have mourned to you, and ye have not wept.

33 For John the Baptist came neither eating bread nor drinking wine ; and ye say, He hath a devil.

34 The Son of man is come eating and drinking ; and ye say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners !

35 But wisdom is justified of all her children.

In this recital of the words of Jesus, St Luke is more cautious than St Matthew ; for he omits those suspicious words, which Christ could not have spoken, “From the days of John the Baptist *until now*, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.” What length of time had elapsed between the “days of John the Baptist” and “now”?—Not a day—hardly an hour. Jesus had just dismissed John’s disciples, to go back to their master who was in prison, where he had been placed a short time before by Herod. No time at all had elapsed between John the baptist and Christ, though there is no doubt that when the gospel of St Matthew was written, a very long time had passed, enough to fully justify the use of the words we are considering. The kingdom of heaven too could at that time be hardly said to have begun ; for John himself only announced that it was at hand ; but that it suffered violence during the life of the Baptist or even of Jesus, is certainly contrary to the truth of history—we read, that violence was indeed done to it, by its enemies, who wished to crush it, but that its friends were, at all events, still too unfaithful and wavering to use much violence in forcing their way into it—which is the meaning of the evangelist.

4. The title by which the four histories of Christ's life and death are known among Christians—in English *gospel*, in Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*, in French *evangile*—has a twofold signification, similar to *church* and many other words, which have both an abstract and a concrete meaning. We have already noticed that the word *gospel*, as a title to the evangelic histories, is of late origin, not being found to bear this sense in Justin Martyr or any of the fathers who wrote before the end of the second century. The literal meaning of the Greek, *εὐ well* and *ἀγγελία message, tidings*, is excellently rendered into English by an old Saxon word *gospel*, or *god-spell*, that is *good-spell, good tidings*. The word has long been confined to signify the good tidings of the evangelic kingdom, but in its origin it probably might denote any good news whatsoever. In the same way, the Greek word at first bore a general signification, which was gradually narrowed to its present theological dimensions. That the preaching of the kingdom of heaven was soon looked upon as good tidings, and designated by a word bearing that import, may be conceded without difficulty, but it seems to me unlikely that Christ himself used the word. In the following texts the word *gospel* occurs. The reader may distinguish between those cases where the use of the word may be referred to the writer, and those in which Christ himself is made to use it.

MARK I, 14 15. Now after that John was put in prison, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, 15 And saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand : repent ye, and believe the gospel.

MATT. 4, 23. And Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people.

MATT. 9, 35. And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people.

MARK 8, 35. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it ; but whosoever shall lose his life for my sake and the gospel's, the same shall save it.

MARK 10, 29. And Jesus answered and said, Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for my sake, and the gospel's, 30

But he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren, &c.

MATT. 24, 14. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations, and then shall the end come.

MATT. 26, 13. Verily I say unto you, wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, THERE also shall this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.

MARK 13, 10. And the gospel must first be published among all nations.

MARK 14, 9. Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, THIS also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

LUKE 10, 1. And it came to pass, *that* on one of those days, as he taught the people in the temple, and preached the gospel, the chief priests and the scribes came upon him with the elders.

5. The last instance of a later idea prematurely introduced into the gospels is to be found in the words of Martha, when Jesus says that her brother Lazarus shall rise again; "Yes," says she, "at the last day." But this was a Christian, not a Jewish idea: the Jews know nothing of a last day; Christ first taught this belief, and there had not been sufficient time for Martha to have imbibed the idea so deeply as to be able to reply to Jesus by reference to his own doctrine.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JESUS ALWAYS ACCOMPANIED BY A MULTITUDE OF FOLLOWERS.

The four gospels are all marked with a dramatic or scenic character, well fitted for purposes of doctrine, but remarkably improbable if we regard them as relating straight forward matters of fact. Thus we find that the Scribes and Pharisees—Christ's open enemies—are always at hand, to find fault with him and to discuss his most trivial actions. An instance of this we have in the walk through the cornfields on the sabbath day, as related by the first three evangelists.

MATT. 12, 1—8.

At that time Jesus went on the sabbath day through the corn; and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn, and to eat.

2 But when the Pharisees

MARK 2, 23—28.

23 And it came to pass, that he went through the corn fields on the sabbath day; and his disciples began, as they went, to pluck the ears of corn.

24 And the Pharisees said

LUKE 6, 1—5.

And it came to pass on the second sabbath after the first, that he went through the corn fields; and his disciples plucked the ears of corn, and did eat, rubbing THEM in THEIR hands.

saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath day.

3 But he said unto them, Have ye not read what David did, when he was an hungred, and they that were with him;

4 How he entered into the house of God, and did eat the shewbread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?

5 Or have ye not read in the law, how that on the sabbath day the priests in the temple profane the sabbath, and are blameless?

6 But I say unto you, That in this place is ONE greater than the temple.

7 But if ye had known what THIS meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless.

8 For the Son of man is Lord even of the sabbath day.

unto him, Behold, why do they on the sabbath day that which is not lawful?

25 And he said unto them, Have ye never read what David did, when he had need, and was an hungred, he, and they that were with him?

26 How he went into the house of God in the days of Abiathar the high priest, and did eat the shewbread, which is not lawful to eat but for the priests, and gave also to them which were with him?

27 And he said unto them, The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath:

28 Therefore the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

2 And certain of the Pharisees said unto them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do on the sabbath day?

3 And Jesus answering them said, Have ye not read so much as this, what David did, when himself was an hungred, and they which were with him;

4 How he went into the house of God, and did take and eat the shewbread, and gave also to them that were with him; which is not lawful to eat but for the priests alone?

5 And he said unto them, That the Son of man is Lord also of the sabbath.

How the Pharisees could have time to follow Jesus about in this way on all occasions, it is hard to conjecture—They surely did not attend on him as friends; and consideration for our common humanity will not allow us to suppose that from hatred of him they would have taken so much trouble. The various transactions of which Christ's life, whilst he was on earth, consists, have evidently derived a colouring, suited to place them in the most striking and picturesque light before the eyes of the world. Unless we admit this principle of interpretation, it is impossible to move onwards through the mass of extraordinary facts which hem us in. If we take the accounts literally, we must believe that the whole political state of Jerusalem, if not of all Judæa and Galilee, stood still to watch the career of our Lord—Pharisees, Sadducees, Priests, and Scribes, seem to have had nothing else to do, or to leave every thing else undone. It may be admitted that we know very little of these Scribes, Priests, Pharisees and Sadducees,—hardly any thing, indeed, beyond what we read of them in the New Testament. But we know at all events, that they were the leading men of the Jews, and, though subordinate to the authority of the Roman procurator, yet administering a considerable portion of the

public government, and were consequently men of too high rank to follow so obscure a person as Christ appeared to be.

Neither do we find sufficient testimony in the writers of that period, to the truth of the supposition that a Messiah was generally expected at that time by the Jews. We certainly find allusion to an opinion of this kind being afloat forty or fifty years after Christ's crucifixion, but not earlier. This is an important difference. An expectation of a Messiah should have preceded the appearance of Christ, if it is to be accepted as an explanation of the great attention with which the rulers of the Jews watched all his motions. But an expectation of a Messiah, following so long after Christ's appearance on earth, may have had its origin in Christ's own history, and so be of no weight in settling such questions as the present.

But even this is admitting too much ; for all the passages quoted from the ancient authors in this matter prove that the expectation was rather of a ruler of the world than of a Messiah, strictly so called.

We may briefly dismiss the well known eclogue of Virgil, written in compliment to his patron Augustus, as having not the most remote bearing upon the events which passed in Judæa some twenty years afterwards :

Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo !

A mighty revolution, it is true, was about to come ; but it was the royal family of the Cæsars, not the humble family in the inn at Bethlehem, of which the poet was speaking. How vain, then, the endeavours of weak-minded men to enlist the Roman Virgil among the harbingers of Christ and of his religion !

A second indication of Christ's coming and of a general expectation concerning him, is supposed to be contained in Suetonius's *Life of Vespasian*, § 4.

Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, quum cantante eo aut discederet sæpius, aut præsens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam : prohibitusque non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti etiamque ex-

trema metuenti provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur. Id de imperatore Romano, quantum eventu postea paruit, prædictum Judæi ad se trahentes, rebellarunt; cæsoque præposito legatum insuper Syriæ consularem suppetias ferentem, rapta aquila fugaverunt. SÜET. *Vespas.* 4.

In the journey through Greece among the companions of Nero, he [Vespasian] often either went out when Nero sang, or went to sleep if he remained, and by doing so gave serious offence. For this cause he was excluded from his society, and from salutation in public, and withdrew into a small out of the way city, where he lay concealed, until suddenly, when he was looking out for some extreme punishment, he was intrusted with the government of a province and the command of an army. An old and constant opinion had grown up throughout the whole of the East, that it was fated for the empire of the world at that time to devolve on some one who should go forth from Judæa. This prediction referred to a Roman emperor, as was afterwards evident by the result, but the Jews took it to themselves, and rose in rebellion. Having slain their governor, they moreover routed the lieutenant of Syria, a man of consular rank, who was bringing supplies, and took the standard of the eagle.

This was forty years or more after the crucifixion of our Lord. It is dangerous to say that the old and constant opinion was prophetic of Christ; for, if so, prophecy, always obscure until fulfilled, was in this case foiled in its fulfilment also. The expectation, it seems, was not gratified by Christ's coming. It was still to be realized, and was at last quenched by the reeking swords of the Romans, who claimed for themselves and for their emperors the fulfilment of the expectation which had grown up among the people of the East.

We find in the History of Tacitus, 5, 13, a similar account of this expectation by which the Jews were encouraged to revolt against the Romans.

Evenerant prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repente delubri fores et audita major humana vox, *Excedere Deos*, simul ingens motus excedentium. Quæ pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasis inerat, antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore

fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judæa rerum potirentur. Sed vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis, sibi tantam factorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudinem obsessorum, omnis ætatis, virile ac muliebres sexus, sexcenta millia fuisse accepimus. Arma cunctis qui ferre possent: et plures quam pro numero audebant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par: ac, si transferre sedes cogerentur, major vitæ metus quam mortis. Hanc adversus urbem gentemque Cæsar Titus, quando impetus et subita belli locus abnueret, aggeribus vineisque certare statuit.

Many prodigies had happened, but that nation is so sunk in superstition, and opposed to religion, that they do not deem it right to expiate these either by victims or by prayers. Armies were seen fighting in heaven, arms rattling, and the temple was illuminated by a sudden light from the clouds. The gates of the forum were suddenly thrown open, and a voice more than human was heard, that "the Gods were leaving"; upon which there was a great move as of persons leaving. These things alarmed some: but the greater number were persuaded that it was written in the ancient writings of their priests, that the East would at this very time gain strength, and the empire of the world devolve on some one who should go forth from Judæa. This ambiguous expression was prophetic of Vespasian and Titus. But the common people, after the custom of human cupidity, interpreting such a magnificent decree of the fates in their own favour, could not be induced even by misfortune to view things in their true light. We have heard that the number of the besieged, of every age, men and women, was six hundred thousand. All took arms, who could bear them, and those who dared to do so, were far more than in proportion to the whole number. Men and women were alike obstinate, and they showed less fear of death than of living in exile. Such was the

MATT. 21, 12—17.

12 And Jesus went into the temple of God, and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves,

13 And said unto them, It is written, my house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.

14 And the blind and the lame came to him in the temple; and he healed them.

MARK 11, 15—19.

15 And they come to Jerusalem: and Jesus went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and the seats of them that sold doves;

16 And would not suffer that any man should carry *any* vessel through the temple.

17 And he taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, My house shall be called of all nations the house of prayer? but ye have made it a den of thieves.

city, such the people, which Titus Cæsar, seeing that the nature of the ground would not allow of a speedy decision by assault, prepared to assail with mounds and military engines.

Thus, we see no good ground for believing that there was a general expectation of a Messiah, in our sense of the word, prevalent among the Jews at the time when Christ appeared. The aspiration of all nations in distress, finds vent for itself in the wish for a regenerator, and the *Exoriare aliquis* of the poet no doubt found its way into the hearts of the Jews, as well as of all other oppressed nations. But this does not account for the extraordinary concourse of people always following Christ—this is the result of the after idea of the Christians, who thought such a thing probable, and could only account for the existing state of their sect by magnifying every thing that concerned its founder.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all Christ's miracles—because in performing it he put himself in open hostility to the Jewish authorities—was the ejection of traders from the temple of Jerusalem. The miracle is thus related by the four evangelists,

LUKE 19, 45—48.

45 And he went into the temple, and began to cast out them that sold therein, and them that bought;

46 Saying unto them, It is written, My house is the house of prayer: but ye have made it a den of thieves.

JOHN 2, 13—17.

13 And the Jews' passover was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem,

14 And found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting:

15 And when he had made a scourge of small cords, he drove them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen; and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables;

16 And said unto them that sold doves, Take these things hence;

15 And when the chief priests and scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying, Hosanna to the son of David; they were sore displeased,

16 And said unto him, Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus saith unto them, Yea; have ye never read, Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise?

17 And he left them, and went out of the city into Bethany; and he lodged there.

18 And the scribes and chief priests heard *it*, and sought how they might destroy him: for they feared him, because all the people was astonished at his doctrine.

19 And when even was come, he went out of the city.

There are no striking points of difference in these recitals of the same fact. All of them suggest to the mind a similar picture of the purification of the temple with its attendant circumstances. But, as regards the time, when this remarkable scene took place, there is an important difference between the four evangelists. Whilst the first three gospels place it at the end of Christ's ministry, during his stay at Jerusalem which ended with his seizure in the garden of Gethsemane, the fourth evangelist places it at the very beginning of his public life, during one of those previous visits to Jerusalem, which are mentioned in the gospel of St John alone.

This discrepancy is remarkable, and forbids our thinking that the apostles Matthew and John, both of whom were witnesses of the deed, could have, one or the other, made so great an error in relating it.

There is, moreover, a minor discrepancy between St Mark and the others in the day, on which the deed is related to have taken place. Matthew and Luke relate it among the events of the same day, on which Jesus rode on the ass into Jerusalem. Not so Mark: he says at 11, 11 :

And Jesus entered into Jerusalem, and into the temple, and when he had looked round about upon all things, and now the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

Verily this "looking about upon all things" commends itself

47 And he taught daily in the temple. But the chief priests and the scribes and the chief of the people sought to destroy him,

48 And could not find what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him.

make not my Father's house an house of merchandise.

17 And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.

much more to our common sense, and is more consistent with the general character of Christ than the "making a scourge of small cords."

It is on the morrow, at a second visit to the temple, according to St Mark, that the traders are driven out, and the tables of the money-changers overthrown.

What inference, then, is to be drawn from these inharmonious accounts of the evangelists? Some biblical critics have concluded, with St John, that the transaction took place in the early part of Christ's ministry; others at its close. A third body of commentators, unwilling to allow that either of the evangelists is in error, have supposed that the same scene in the temple was twice enacted, once at the beginning, and again at the termination of Christ's career.

But neither of these explanations is satisfactory; for, whilst neither of them wholly disembarasses the subject of its attendant difficulties, there are other considerations, which suggest another view of the matter, more reconcilable with Christ's character, and demanding our assent no less as a religious than as a reasonable deduction. If we are startled at finding that the witnesses of this deed do not agree about the time when it happened, does it not surprise us still more that such a deed should be related *as a fact* at all? Let us picture to ourselves a single man entering a throng of merchants in London or any other of our populous cities, and

forcibly ejecting them from their usual haunts—some hundreds of tradesmen driven headlong away by the force of a single arm. It is inconceivable that such a scene could be real. The guards and constables of the city would have interposed, even if the traders themselves had not been firm in defending their property from destruction, and the daring assailant been speedily repulsed. It is painful to imagine such a scene as passing in reality before our eyes—the Son of God and the Saviour of men, creating a tumult in that Temple which he wished to purify. The people, instead of being astonished at his doctrine, would have been terrified at his power, and would certainly have been little disposed, not many days afterwards, to crowd round the judgment hall, in which he was tried for his life, and to cry “Crucify him, crucify him !”

Another principle of interpretation must, then, be adopted—that the transaction was not real, but allegorical and didactic. That the people might be astonished at his doctrine, it was not necessary that the traders should actually be all driven bodily out of the Temple. There were probably hundreds of persons, who sold articles, such as doves and pigeons for offerings, and changed money in the court of the Temple—and this without being conscious of doing wrong, for such practices had been always common and were regarded as indifferent, in those external parts of the building which were not looked upon as sacred. It was enough to create astonishment among the people that Jesus should *speak* against these things, and endeavour to open their eyes to the universality of the religious sentiment—to spiritualize their hearts, and freeing them from the formalities of the Jewish ritual, to expand their minds so as to comprehend the infinity of the divine attributes. For this purpose, the whip of small cords was as potent a symbol, as a flying cherubim with a sword of flame. The whip of small cords was an allegory merely.—The Saviour chastised with his burning words the traders by whom he was surrounded : he drove them in gesture only, but not in literal reality. He suited the action to the word, like an energetic orator, and with his word, not with his hands—that never, after or before,

were raised save in prayer to Heaven—did he overthrow the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves. Whether this scenic mode of teaching took place at the beginning or end of his ministry, or at both, becomes now a matter of no consequence : that there should be a doubt as to the time when it happened, shows that the books, in which such doubts are not cleared up, could not have been written, whilst the Holy Ghost was still visibly on earth, to elucidate even more important points than that.

CHAPTER XXV.

HEALING OF THE CENTURION'S SERVANT.

It has often been remarked that the same fact, related by several eye-witnesses, is sure to be related in as many different manners as there are relators. Not only will inaccuracies of detail be committed by all and a different colouring be given by each to almost every distinct transaction, but positive contradictions will occur on many matters of fact, about which, it might be supposed, there could be no possibility of a mistake. Yet all this has never invalidated the separate testimony of each witness, because it is well known that to be wholly free from error is more than human, but that by confronting and comparing the testimony of the separate authorities, an approximative conclusion may be arrived at, sufficient for all the practical purposes of life. We must extend this principle to the four gospels, if we would wish to obtain a true historic view of them—but we must not, at the same time, argue that as inspired writings, they do not exhibit any of those defects for which alone such a principle of interpretation can be required. Let us see how this principle may be applied to the account of Christ's healing the centurion's servant, related by St Matthew and St Luke.

MATT. 8, 5—13.

5 And when Jesus was entered into Capernaum, there came unto him a centurion, beseeching him,

6 And saying, Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, grievously tormented.

7 And Jesus saith unto him, I will come and heal him.

8 The centurion answered and said, Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed.

9 For I am a man under authority, having soldiers under me: and I say to this *man*, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth *it*.

10 When Jesus heard *it*, he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.

11 And I say unto you, That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.

12 But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

13 And Jesus said unto the centurion, Go thy way; and as thou hast believed, *so* be it done unto thee. And his servant was healed in the selfsame hour.

LUKE 7, 1—10.

Now when he had ended all his sayings in the audience of the people, he entered into Capernaum.

2 And a certain centurion's servant, who was dear unto him, was sick, and ready to die.

3 And when he heard of Jesus, he sent unto him the elders of the Jews, beseeching him that he would come and heal his servant.

4 And when they came to Jesus, they besought him instantly, saying, That he was worthy for whom he should do this:

5 For he loveth our nation, and he hath built us a synagogue.

6 Then Jesus went with them. And when he was now not far from the house, the centurion sent friends to him, saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof:

7 Wherefore neither thought I myself worthy to come unto thee: but say in a word, and my servant shall be healed.

8 For I also am a man set under authority, having under me soldiers, and I say unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another, Come, and he cometh; and to my servant, Do this, and he doeth *it*.

9 When Jesus heard these things, he marvelled at him, and turned him about, and said unto the people that followed him, I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel.

10 And they that were sent, returning to the house, found the servant whole that had been sick.

The difference between these two is worthy of observation:

1. According to Matthew's gospel, the centurion comes himself: but according to Luke he sends a message by the "elders of the Jews." St Matthew, as one of the twelve, was probably present; for the event takes place immediately after the Sermon on the

Mount, at which one would suppose Matthew, though not yet called (see Matt. 9, 9), to have been present, for he, alone of the four evangelists, gives it in full. St Luke, not having been of the twelve, may not have been present. So far, therefore, the advantage is in favour of St Matthew, admitting for the moment that these two are writers of the two gospels. But there is a difficulty about both these accounts if viewed separately: It is not likely that a Roman centurion would have come himself to solicit the aid of Jesus for one of his servants, as related by St Matthew; and still less so that he should have sent "the elders of the Jews," as we read in the gospel according to St Luke. The former account is improbable, not only on account of the rank of the centurion, but—as would appear from St Luke's observation that he had built a Jewish synagogue—on account of his riches also. That he would send the "elders of the Jews" is still less likely, because the Jews to a man were repugnant to the Roman government, and the house of a Roman military officer is almost the last place in which one would expect to find their elders. Of the two accounts that of St Luke is the least probable, and is more complex in its details than that of St Matthew, which is on this account also to be preferred.

2. But, in the second place, according to saint Luke, the centurion sends a second deputation consisting of his own friends, counteracting the message which he had before sent, and "saying unto him, Lord, trouble not thyself: for I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof &c." This second message seems to have grown out of the previous particulars. Tradition had handed down the centurion's great faith in Christ's power to work the miracle even at a distance, but according to the writer of the third gospel, the centurion not having gone himself, a second message was necessary in order to communicate to Jesus the expression of faith, which according to the first gospel was made by word of mouth. This also awards the preference to the gospel of saint Matthew as more probable from its greater simplicity.

But, whilst we exercise this necessary principle of selection,

and reject one narrative for the other, we necessarily protest against the obligation to accept both alike, as emanations from the great fountain of unmixed and unadulterated truth. We may also go further, and express doubts whether two accounts, so different, could have proceeded from contemporary writers, one, or both of whom perhaps, saw with their own eyes the occurrence which they relate.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HEALING OF THE TWO BLIND MEN AT JERICO.

Three of the evangelists mention the restoration of sight to the blind performed by Jesus near the entrance of the city of Jericho.

MATT. 20, 29—34.

29 And as they departed from Jericho, a great multitude followed him.

30 And, behold, two blind men sitting by the way side, when they heard that Jesus passed by, cried out, saying, Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David.

31 And the multitude rebuked them, because they should hold their peace: but they cried the more, saying, Have mercy on us, O Lord, thou son of David.

32 And Jesus stood still, and called them, and said, What wilt ye that I shall do unto you?

33 They say unto him, Lord, that our eyes may be opened.

34 So Jesus had compassion on them, and touched their eyes: and immediately their eyes received sight, and they followed him.

MARK 10, 46—52.

46 And they came to Jericho: and as he went out of Jericho with his disciples and a great number of people, blind Bartimæus, the son of Timæus, sat by the highway side begging.

47 And when he heard that it was Jesus of Nazareth, he began to cry out, and say, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

48 And many charged him that he should hold his peace: but he cried the more a great deal, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.

49 And Jesus stood still, and commanded him to be called. And they call the blind man, saying unto him, Be of good comfort, rise; he calleth thee.

50 And he, casting away his garment, rose, and came to Jesus.

51 And Jesus answered and said unto him, What wilt thou that I should do unto thee? The blind man said unto him, Lord, that I might receive my sight.

52 And Jesus said unto him, Go thy way; thy faith hath made thee whole. And immediately he received his sight, and followed Jesus in the way.

LUKE 19, 35—43.

35 And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, a certain blind man sat by the way side begging:

36 And hearing the multitude pass by, he asked what it meant.

37 And they told him, that Jesus of Nazareth passeth by.

38 And he cried, saying, Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me.

39 And they which went before rebuked him, that he should hold his peace: but he cried so much the more, Thou son of David, have mercy on me.

40 And Jesus stood, and commanded him to be brought unto him: and when he was come near, he asked him,

41 Saying, What wilt thou that I shall do unto thee? And he said, Lord, that I may receive my sight.

42 And Jesus said unto him, Receive thy sight: thy faith hath saved thee.

43 And immediately he received his sight, and followed him, glorifying God: and all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God.

There can be no doubt, from the very great similarity in the attendant circumstances, that the incident is the same in all three gospels, or, in other words, that the three writers speak of the same miracle : and yet they have related it in a manner so remarkably different, the one from the other, that it is impossible to ascertain the real nature of the occurrence.

1. Matthew and Mark lay the scene of the miracle at Christ's departure out of Jericho : Luke places it at Christ's entry into that city.

2. Matthew says that there were two blind men healed : Mark and Luke confine the incident to one, whom Mark alone calls Bar-timæus.

With these exceptions, all the other particulars are so exactly similar, that we cannot doubt they belong to the same miracle. For if Christ once cured a blind Bartimæus, as he was departing from Jericho, according to Mark, he must, a second time, have cured two blind men as he was leaving that town, according to Matthew, and must a third time have healed a single blind man, according to Luke, as he was *entering* into Jericho. These arguments prove that the three writers of the gospel copied tradition, and were not themselves eye witnesses of the fact. *

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE MIRACLE OF THE LOAVES AND FISHES.

Among the comparatively few incidents of Christ's life, related by all the four evangelists, without much variation or discrepancy, is the miraculous feeding of the multitude by the multiplication of the loaves and fishes.

The circumstances that preceded and led to this event, according to Matthew and Mark, was the death of John the Baptist, which

* The other cases of healing the blind, which occur in the four gospels, will be found at Matt. 12, 22 ; Mark 8, 23 ; Luke 7, 22 ; Jo. 9, 1.

caused Jesus to retire by *ship* into a desert place for greater security. In Luke's gospel we read that Herod, who had beheaded John, wished to see Jesus, who in consequence retires with his disciples into a desert place, but seemingly by land. The fourth

MATT. 14, 12—22.

14. And Jesus went forth, and saw a great multitude, and was moved with compassion toward them, and he healed their sick.

15 And when it was evening, his disciples came to him, saying, This is a desert place, and the time is now past; send the multitude away, that they may go into the villages, and buy themselves victuals.

16 But Jesus said unto them, They need not depart; give ye them to eat.

17 And they say unto him, We have here but five loaves, and two fishes.

18 He said, Bring them hither to me.

19 And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the grass, and took the five loaves, and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves to *his* disciples, and the disciples to the multitude.

20 And they did all eat, and were filled: and they took up of the fragments that remained twelve baskets full.

21 And they that had eaten were about five thousand men, beside women and children.

MARK 6, 34—44.

34 And Jesus, when he came out, saw much people, and was moved with compassion toward them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd: and he began to teach them many things.

35 And when the day was now far spent, his disciples came unto him, and said, This is a desert place, and now the time *is* far passed:

36 Send them away, that they may go into the country round about, and into the villages, and buy themselves bread: for they have nothing to eat.

37 He answered and said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they say unto him, Shall we go and buy two hundred pennyworth of bread, and give them to eat?

38 He saith unto them, How many loaves have ye? go and see. And when they knew, they say, Five, and two fishes.

39 And he commanded them to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass.

40 And they sat down in ranks, by hundreds, and by fifties.

41 And when he had taken the five loaves and the two fishes, he looked up to heaven, and blessed, and brake the loaves, and gave *them* to his disciples to set before them; and the two fishes divided he among them all.

42 And they did all eat, and were filled.

43 And they took up twelve baskets full of the fragments, and of the fishes.

44 And they that did eat of the

evangelist does not mention the death of the Baptist in connection with the feeding of the multitude. The narratives of the four are remarkably in harmony with one another and without a doubt refer to the same incident.

LUKE 9, 10—17.

10 And the apostles, when they were returned, told him all that they had done. And he took them, and went aside privately into a desert place belonging to the city called Bethsaida.

11 And the people, when they knew *it*, followed him : and he received them, and spake unto them of the kingdom of God, and healed them that had need of healing.

12 And when the day began to wear away, then came the twelve, and said unto him, Send the multitude away, that they may go into the town and country round about, and lodge, and get victuals : for we are here in a desert place.

13 But he said unto them, Give ye them to eat. And they said, We have no more but five loaves and two fishes ; except we should go and buy meat for all this people.

14 For they were about five thousand men. And he said to his disciples, Make them sit down by fifties in a company.

15 And they did so, and made them all sit down.

16 Then he took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, he blessed them, and brake, and gave to the disciples to set before the multitude.

17 And they did eat, and were all filled : and there was taken up of fragments that remained to them twelve baskets.

JOHN 6, 5—14.

5 When Jesus then lifted up *his* eyes, and saw a great company come unto him, he saith unto Philip, Whence shall we buy bread, that these may eat?

6 And this he said to prove him : for he himself knew what he would do.

7 Philip answered him, Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient for them, that every one of them may take a little.

8 One of his disciples, Andrew, Simon Peter's brother, saith unto him,

9 There is a lad here, which hath five barley loaves, and two small fishes : but what are they among so many?

10 And Jesus said, Make the men sit down. Now there was much grass in the place. So the men sat down, in number about five thousand.

11 And Jesus took the loaves ; and when he had given thanks, he distributed to the disciples, and the disciples to them that were set down ; and likewise of the fishes as much as they would.

12 When they were filled, he said unto his disciples, Gather up the fragments that remain that nothing be lost.

13 Therefore they gathered *them* together, and filled twelve baskets with the fragments of the five barley loaves, which remained over and above unto them that had eaten.

14 Then those men, when they had seen the miracle that Jesus did,

22 And straightway Jesus constrained his disciples to get into a ship, and to go before him unto the other side, while he sent the multitudes away.

loaves were about five thousand men.

45 And straitway he constrained his disciples to get into the ship, and to go to the other side unto Bethsaida, while he sent away the people.

As soon as the multitude are fed, the disciples of Jesus take ship, leaving behind them their master, who at night follows them walking on the sea (Matt. 14, 25 : Mark 6, 48 ; not in Luke : John 6, 19). So far there is agreement between the evangelists, though there may be uncertainty as to the relative position of the place where the multitude were fed, and the place to which they crossed in the boat. The account of their landing at the latter is given thus :

MATT. 14, 34.

And when they were gone over, they came into the land of Gennesaret.

MARK 6, 53.

And when they had passed over, they came into the land of Gennesaret, and drew to the shore.

JOHN 6, 17.

And went over the sea towards Capernaum.

As Capernaum was a town in the land of Gennesaret, the three narratives of Matthew, Mark, and John, are so far in harmony with one another. The disciples land in Gennesaret ; but we see in the last verses of the foregoing harmony, Matt. 14, 22, and Mark 6, 45, that Christ's instructions were to go before him " unto the other side " ; from which we might infer that the feeding of the multitude took place on the eastern side of the lake.

St John however tells us, at 6, 23, that

There came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place where they did eat bread, after that the Lord had given thanks.

From which it would appear that the feeding took place on the south-western side, and that Christ with his disciples afterwards sailed in the boat along the shore northward towards Capernaum, also on the western bank of the lake. But this interpretation is not more probable than the other, for the eastern side of the lake

said, This is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world.

15 When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone.

16 And when even was now come, his disciples went down into the sea.

17. And entered unto a ship &c.

was also the territory of Herod, and it was the intention of Jesus to retire out of his power.

The remarkable incident, thus carefully and accurately described, would, we might suppose, be of a nature to end all the doubts which Christ's disciples could entertain respecting his divine mission and his miraculous power. "Five thousand men," say two of the evangelists, Mark and John, "besides women and children," adds Matthew, obtain a plentiful meal from five barley loaves and two small fishes: and yet, within a very short space of time, the disciples, who had served the food round to the multitude, seem to have forgotten the circumstance altogether.

The fourteenth chapter of Matthew concludes with the arrival of Christ and his disciples at Capernaum, whence he makes a journey into the parts near Tyre and Sidon, returning to the neighbourhood of the sea of Galilee. Then, at verse 32 of the following chapter, is an account of another miraculous feeding of a multitude, corresponding in almost every particular with the former, and not only with no allusion made to the former feeding, but preceded by a doubt on the part of the disciples as to how so large a number should be fed, showing that they either did not know of any other previous miracle of the kind, or (which is wholly absurd and incredible) that they had forgotten it.—This latter miracle is related by Matthew and Mark alone: Luke and John do not notice it.

MATT. 15, 32—39.

32 Then Jesus called his disciples *unto him*, and said, I have com-

MARK 8, 1—10.

In those days the multitude being very great, and having nothing to

passion on the multitude, because they continue with me now three days, and have nothing to eat : and I will not send them away fasting, lest they faint in the way.

33 And his disciples say unto him, Whence should we have so much bread in the wilderness, as to fill so great a multitude ?

34 And Jesus saith unto them, How many loaves have ye ? And they said, Seven, and a few little fishes.

35 And he commanded the multitude to sit down on the ground.

36 And he took the seven loaves and the fishes, and gave thanks, and brake *them*, and gave to his disciples, and the disciples to the multitude.

37 And they did all eat, and were filled : and they took up of the broken *meat* that was left seven baskets full.

38 And they that did eat were four thousand men, beside women and children.

39 And he sent away the multitude, and took ship, and came into the coasts of Magdala.

CHAPTER XIV, 1—12.

The Pharisees also with the Sadducees came, and tempting desired him that he would shew them a sign from heaven.

2 He answered and said unto them, When it is evening, ye say, *It will be fair weather* : for the sky is red.

3 And in the morning, *It will be foul weather to day* ; for the sky is red and lowering. *O ye hypocrites*, ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not *discern* the signs of the times ?

4 A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign ; and there shall no sign be given unto it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas.

And he left them, and departed.

eat, Jesus called his disciples *unto him*, and saith unto them,

2 I have compassion on the multitude, because they have now been with me three days, and have nothing to eat :

3 And if I send them away fasting to their own houses, they will faint by the way : for divers of them came from far.

4 And his disciples answered him, From whence can a man satisfy these *men* with bread here in the wilderness ?

5 And he asked them, How many loaves have ye ? And they said, Seven.

6 And he commanded the people to sit down on the ground : and he took the seven loaves, and gave thanks, and brake, and gave to his disciples to set before *them* ; and they did set *them* before the people.

7 And they had a few small fishes : and he blessed and commanded to set them also before *them*.

8 So they did eat, and were filled : and they took up of the broken *meat* that was left seven baskets.

9 And they that had eaten were about four thousand : and he sent them away.

10 And straightway he entered into a ship with his disciples, and came into the parts of Dalmanutha.

11 And the Pharisees came forth, and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven, tempting him.

12 And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why doth this generation seek after a sign ? verily I say unto you, There shall no sign be given unto this generation.

13 And he left them and entering into the ship again departed to the other side.

The points of agreement between the accounts of this and the former miracle are more than the points of difference : the following observations seem just and reasonable.

1. In the one case, five thousand, in the other four thousand, is the number fed—a slight difference, such as often creeps silently and accidentally, into the most credible histories.

2. Matthew, in the latter, as well as in the former miracle, adds “besides women and children,” omitted by Mark.

3. In both instances, the disciples make the men sit down, and distribute round the food from the hands of Jesus.

4. In both instances, the scene of the miracle is the wilderness, near the sea of Galilee.

5. In both instances, Jesus embarks on board a ship, immediately after the multitude are fed, and passes across the lake.

These circumstances are so remarkably similar that it is extremely difficult to believe in the separate occurrence of two such miracles. History, it has been said, never repeats itself; but here we have two events so precisely alike that it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. And, to add to our astonishment, it appears from Matthew and Mark, that both these remarkable miracles were lost upon the disciples, who shortly after the occurrence of the second, expect a rebuke from their master because they had taken no bread with them in the ship :

MATT. 16, 5—12.

5 And when his disciples were come to the other side, they had forgotten to take bread.

6 Then Jesus said unto them, Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

7 And they reasoned among themselves, saying, *It is* because we have taken no bread.

8 *Which* when Jesus perceived, he said unto them, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves, because ye have brought no bread?

MARK 8, 14—26.

14 Now *the disciples* had forgotten to take bread, neither had they in the ship with them more than one loaf.

15 And he charged them, saying, Take heed, beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, and *of* the leaven of Herod.

16 And they reasoned among themselves, saying, *It is* because we have no bread.

17 And when Jesus knew *it*, he saith unto them, Why reason ye, because ye have no bread? perceive ye not yet, neither understand? have ye your heart yet hardened?

9 Do ye not yet understand, neither remember the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?

10 Neither the seven loaves of the four thousand, and how many baskets ye took up?

11 How is it that ye do not understand that I spake *it* not to you concerning bread, that ye should beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees?

12 Then understood they how that he bade *them* not beware of the leaven of bread, but of the doctrine of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees.

18 Having eyes, see ye not? and do ye not remember?

19 When I brake the five loaves among five thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? They say unto him, Twelve.

20 And when the seven among four thousand, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? And they said Seven.

21 And he said unto them, How is it that ye do not understand?

22 And he cometh to Bethsaida; and they bring a blind man unto him, and besought him to touch him.

23 And he took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hands upon him, he asked him if he saw ought.

24 And he looked up, and said, I see men as trees, walking.

25 After that he put *his* hands again upon his eyes, and made him look up: and he was restored, and saw every man clearly.

26 And he sent him away to his house, saying, Neither go into the town, nor tell *it* to any in the town.

How then is the whole narrative to be viewed? The four accounts of the miraculous multiplication of food, fail in almost every condition which would entitle them to be regarded as written by contemporary authors. But, as later records, we may refer to the fading character of tradition those incoherent or inconsistent particulars, which otherwise embarrass us and defy every attempt to explain them.

If reason may be admitted in elucidating so extraordinary an occurrence, we might suggest that Christ only once supplied food miraculously and with beneficent purpose to a smaller number of people, who on that occasion only, and not always, were following him, and that the traditional memory of this event gave birth in time to a written record of two separate miracles, wrought in one case on five thousand, in the other on four thousand men, “besides

women and children." In this way only does it seem possible to escape from the double difficulties which the literal interpretation of the text presents. That four or five thousand persons if not more should twice have followed Christ into a desert place, where they stopped three days without any thing to eat, and were then fed miraculously with bread and fish, can hardly be accepted literally, for two reasons :

1. Such an event would have led to a thorough revolution in any country ancient or modern, and is utterly out of harmony with all the other miracles of Christ, which were mostly of a private and unostentatious nature.

2. Because immediately after both the miraculous feedings, the very disciples themselves seem not to be aware of an inference which would now occur to the most simple child, that it was unnecessary for them any more to carry with them articles of food, which might be readily supplied by the miraculous powers of their master.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE DEMONIAK AMONG THE TOMBS AND THE SWINE.

In three of the gospels we have an account of a multitude of devils or evil spirits cast out by Jesus and suffered to enter into certain swine, which, in consequence of being thus demoniacally possessed, are driven over a precipice and perish in the sea.

MATT. 8, 28—34.

28 And when he was come to the other side into the country of the Gergesenes, there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tombs, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way.

29 And behold, they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God ? art thou come hither to torment us before the time ?

MARK 5, 1—20.

And they came over unto the other side of the sea, into the country of the Gadarenes.

2 And when he was come out of the ships, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit.

3 Who had his dwelling among the tombs; and no man could bind him, no, not with chains :

4 Because that he had been often bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters broken in

LUKE 8, 26—40.

26 And they arrived at the country of the Gadarenes, which is over against Galilee.

27 And when he went forth to land, there met him out of the city a certain man, which had devils long time, and ware no clothes, neither abode in any house, but in the tombs.

28 When he saw Jesus, he cried out and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God most high ? I beseech thee, torment me not.

pieces: neither could any MAN tame him.

5 And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting himself with stones.

6 But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran and worshipped him,

7 And cried with a loud voice, and said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, THOU Son of the most high God? I adjure thee by God, that thou torment me not.

8 For he said unto him, Come out of the man, THOU unclean spirit.

9 And he asked him, What is thy name? And he answered, saying, My name is Legion: for we are many.

10 And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.

11 Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding.

12 And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them.

13 And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, (they were about two thousand;) and were choked in the sea.

14 And they that fed the swine fled, and told it in the city, and in the country. And they went out to see what it was that was done.

15 And they come to Jesus, and see him that was possessed with the devil, and had the legion, sitting, and clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.

16 And they that saw it told them how it befell to him that was possessed with the devil, and ALSO concerning the swine.

17 And they began to pray him to depart out of their coasts

18 And when he was come into the ship, he that had been possessed with the devil prayed him that he might be with him.

19 Howbeit Jesus suffered him not, but saith unto him, Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compassion on thee.

29 (For he had commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man. For oftentimes it had caught him: and he was kept bound with chains and in fetters: and he brake the bands, and was driven of the devil into the wilderness.)

30 And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he said, Legion: because many devils were entered into him.

31 And they besought him that he would not command them to go out into the deep.

30 And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding.

31 So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine.

32 And he said unto them, Go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine: and, behold, the whole herd of swine ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and perished in the waters.

33 And they that kept them fled, and went their ways into the city, and told every thing, and what was befallen to the possessed of the devils.

34 And, behold, the whole city came out to meet Jesus: and when they saw him, they besought HIM that he would depart out of their coasts.

32 And there was there an herd of many swine feeding on the mountain: and they besought him that he would suffer them to enter into them. And he suffered them.

33 Then went the devils out of the man, and entered into the swine: and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked.

34 When they that fed THEM saw what was done, they fled, and went and told it in the city and in the country.

35 Then they went out to see what was done; and came to Jesus, and found the man, out of whom the devils were departed, sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in his right mind: and they were afraid.

36 They also which saw it told them by what means he that was possessed of the devils was healed.

37 Then the whole multitude of the country of the Gadarenes round about besought him to depart from them; for they were taken with great fear: and he went up into the ship, and returned back again.

38 Now the man out of whom the devils were departed besought him that he might be with him: but Jesus sent him away, saying,

39 Return to thine own house, and show how great things God hath done unto

CHAPTER IX.

And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city.

20 And he departed, and began to publish in Decapolis how great things Jesus had done for him : and all MEN did marvel.

thee. And he went his way, and published throughout the whole city how great things Jesus had done unto him.

40 And it came to pass, that, when Jesus was returned, the people GLADLY received him : for they were all waiting for him.

The purpose for which this remarkable occurrence is here ad-
duced, is neither to uphold nor to deny its real historical charac-
ter ; but to point out from two of its principal features, that it
has not been handed down to us by three eye-witnesses—for in
one principal feature of the story, the three writers differ from one
another, and in another important particular there is an anachro-
nism in the words of two of the writers.

First : St Matthew speaks of two demoniacs, Mark and Luke
of only one ; and it is now impossible, for want of further tes-
timony, to determine which is in the right.

The other inconsistency or anachronism has reference to the
answer which the unclean spirit makes to the question, “ What is
thy name ? ”—And he answered, saying, “ My name is Legion ; for
we are many.” The four gospels are written in Greek, and the
word *legion* is Latin : but in Galilee and Peræa, the people spoke
neither Latin nor Greek, but Hebrew or a dialect of it. The
word *legion* would be perfectly unintelligible to the disciples of
Christ and to almost every body in the country, as much so as the
English word ‘ regiment ‘ or ‘ brigade.’ How then can we account
for the Latin word *legion* thus occurring in a vernacular dialogue
between men of Galilee and Peræa ? This question may be an-
swered thus. The compiler of the evangelic records lived at a time
when the world was wholly subdued by the Roman arms, and every
city and country within its wide boundaries was witnessing the
discipline and haughtiness of the Roman legions. The word *legion*
was then used, as we use the word *host*, to describe a large inde-
finite number, and the compilers so used it, not reflecting that in
the time of Christ such usage was unknown, because the country
was not then reduced into the tranquillity of a subject province.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CONTRADICTION INSTRUCTIONS RESPECTING THE SAMARITANS.

The traditional origin of a book is easily detected in the various forms, often out of harmony with one another, which maxims assume after the death of him who first propounded them. The truth of this assertion will be at once evident to the classical student, who cannot fail to remember the dissonance between the original tenets of Epicurus and those which gradually obtained vogue among the latter Epicureans. The same progress seems to have befallen many particulars of Christ's teaching. Our attention is now invited to the intercourse of himself and his disciples with the Samaritans, presenting two opposite views, which have given much trouble to commentators, and led to a vacillating system of interpretation, likely to do more harm than good. The inconsistency is this, that at one time Christ seems to forbid all intercourse with Samaritans, at another he not only allows it but sanctions it by his own conduct.

At chap. 10, verse 5 of Matthew's gospel, Jesus says to his disciples,

Into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not.

But in the 4th chapter of John, we find that after his conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well, he abode two days (v. 40) and brought about the conversion of many. At Luke 9, 51—56, we find a settled purpose to lodge among the Samaritans, so much so that when those to whom he first came, would not receive him, from their national prejudice against those who were going up to Jerusalem, he goes to find quarters at another Samaritan village.

MATT. 26, 1—13.

And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these sayings, he said unto his disciples,

2 Ye know that after two days is

MARK 14, 1—9.

After two days was *the feast of the passover*, and of unleavened bread: and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might

LUKE 9, 51—56.

51 And it came to pass, when the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go to Jerusalem,
 52 And sent messengers before his face : and they went, and entered into a village of the Samaritans, to make ready for him.

53 And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem.

54 And when his disciples James and John saw *this*, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did ?

55 But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of.

56 For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save *them*. And they went to another village.

The parable of the good Samaritan also clearly proves that Christ had no animosity towards the Samaritans, but rather sought to free the minds of his hearers from the prejudice which the Jews entertained against them. This wish shows itself also in the history of the ten lepers, Luke 17, 11—19 : and in Acts 1, 8, we read that the apostles were to preach the gospel, after Christ's death, in Samaria, as well as in Galilee and Judæa. There can be no doubt that this inconsistency would be cleared up if we had fuller accounts of the very extraordinary occurrences with which the life of Christ abounds ; and that to attempt a conjectural explanation of it is attended with hasard, and may lead to erroneous conclusions.

CHAPTER XXX.

CHRIST ANOINTED BY A WOMAN AT A FEAST.

All the four evangelic histories give an account of a woman who poured ointment or oil upon the head or feet of Jesus, whilst he sat at meat. The parallel accounts here follow.

LUKE 7, 36—50.

36 And one of the Pharisees desired him that he would eat with him. And he went into the Pharisee's house, and sat down to meat.

JOHN 12, 1—9.

Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead.

the feast of the passover, and the Son of man is betrayed to be crucified.

3 Then assembled together the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders of the people, unto the palace of the high priest, who was called Caiaphas,

4 And consulted that they might take Jesus by subtilty, and kill *him*.

5 But they said, Not on the feast *day*, lest there be an uproar among the people.

6 Now when Jesus was in Bethany, in the house of Simon the leper,

7 There came unto him a woman having an alabaster box of very precious ointment, and poured it on his head, as he sat *at meat*.

8 But when his disciples saw *it*, they had indignation, saying, To what purpose *is* this waste ?

9 For this ointment might have been sold for much, and given to the poor.

10 When Jesus understood *it*, he said unto them, Why trouble ye the woman ? for she hath wrought a good work upon me.

11 For ye have the poor always with you: but me ye have not always.

12 For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did *it* for my burial.

13 Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, *there* shall also this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.

take him by craft, and put *him* to death.

2 But they said, Not on the feast *day*, lest there be an uproar of the people.

3 And being in Bethany in the house of Simon the leper, as he sat at meat, there came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious ; and she brake the box, and poured *it* on his head.

4 And there were some that had indignation within themselves, and said, Why was this waste of the ointment made ?

5 For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor. And they murmured against her.

6 And Jesus said, Let her alone : why trouble ye her ? she hath wrought a good work on me.

7 For ye have the poor with you always, and whensoever ye will ye may do them good: but me ye have not always.

8 She hath done what she could : she is come aforehand to anoint my body to the burying.

9 Verily I say unto you, Wheresoever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, *this* also that she hath done shall be spoken of for a memorial of her.

37 And, behold, a woman in the city, which was a sinner, when she knew that *Jesus* sat at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster box of ointment,

38 And stood at his feet behind *him* weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe *them* with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed *them* with the ointment.

39 Now when the Pharisee which had bidden him saw *it*, he spake within himself, saying, This man, if he were a prophet, would have known who and what manner of woman *this is* that toucheth him : for she is a sinner.

40 And *Jesus* answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on.

41 There was a certain creditor which had two debtors : the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty.

42 And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore, which of them will love him most ?

43 Simon answered and said, I suppose that *he*, to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged.

44 And he turned to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman ? I entered into thine house, thou gavest me no water for my feet : but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped *them* with the hairs of her head.

45 Thou gavest me no kiss : but this woman since the time I came in hath not ceased to kiss my feet.

46 My head with oil thou didst not anoint : but this woman hath anointed my feet with ointment.

47 Wherefore I say unto thee, Her sins, which are many, are forgiven : for she loved much : but to whom little is forgiven, *the same* loveth little.

48 And he said unto her, Thy sins are forgiven.

49 And they that sat at meat with him began to say within themselves Who is this that forgiveth sins also ?

50 And he said to the woman, Thy faith hath saved thee ; go in peace.

2 There they made him a supper ; and Martha served : but Lazarus was one of them that sat at the table with him.

3 Then took Mary a pound of ointment of spikenard, very costly, and anointed the feet of *Jesus*, and wiped his feet with her hair : and the house was filled with the odour of the ointment.

4 Then saith one of his disciples, Judas Iscariot, Simon's *son*, which should betray him,

5 Why was not this ointment sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor ?

6 This he said, not that he cared for the poor ; but because he was a thief, and had the bag, and bare what was put therein.

7 Then said *Jesus*, Let her alone ; against the day of my burying hath she kept this.

8 For the poor always ye have with you ; but me ye have not always.

9 Much people of the Jews therefore knew that he was there : and they came not for *Jesus'* sake only, but that they might see Lazarus also, whom he had raised from the dead.

There are here so many striking points of agreement and the words of the descriptions are so nearly the same, that it is impossible to believe they refer to other than the same occurrence. And yet there is such a difference as to time, place, persons and manner, that it is equally difficult to imagine eye-witnesses could have varied so greatly in relating what they had seen.

1. The four evangelists differ as to the time when this took place : Luke relates it in the early part of Christ's ministry ; the other three place it within a few days of his crucifixion. Again Matthew and Mark say that it was two days, John six days before the feast of the passover.

2. Matthew and Mark say that it took place at the village of Bethany in the house of Simon the leper (elsewhere unheard of) ; Luke calls him Simon a Pharisee, and lays the scene in a city, (7, 37). But John gives us to understand that it was at Bethany in the house of Martha and Mary sister of Lazarus, for he tells us that "Martha served," and he adds (v. 9) that a large number of persons had come together that they might see Lazarus, "whom he had raised from the dead."

3. As to the *manner* of the act, there is equal divergency in the four accounts. The first three evangelists speak of an alabaster *box* (or jar) of ointment ; the fourth of a *pound* of ointment—which apparently, she had just bought at a shop, and might or might not be contained in a box or jar. Matthew and Mark say that the woman poured the ointment on his head, as he sat at meat : but Luke and John say that she anointed his feet with it ; and Luke, entering more into detail, adds that she stood behind Jesus—a position in harmony with the anointing of his head, but very unfavourable for pouring the ointment over his feet, unless he reclined like the Romans.

4. The *persons* concerned in this scene are either vaguely described, or are actually different. According to Matthew and Mark, it is 'a woman' who anoints Jesus : Luke adds the words 'which was a sinner,' but John limits the deed to 'Mary' the brother of Lazarus and Martha. As there is no proof that this

Mary was a sinner more than any other woman, we are at a loss to reconcile these accounts—the mind is led to wander in the direction of Mary Magdalen, who is described in the gospels as a sinner. Lastly, there is not perfect agreement about the person who expostulates with our Lord. Matthew and Mark say it was the disciples who ‘had indignation’ at the waste: John names Judas Iscariot, son of Simon [*the leper or Pharisee who gave the feast?*] but Luke refers it to Simon the Pharisee himself.

All these circumstances point to the conclusion that we know very little about the real particulars of this occurrence—nothing indeed beyond the fact that a pound of ointment was used by some unknown woman in anointing Jesus, but whether his feet or his head, in what place, and at what time, and under what circumstances, we are wholly ignorant.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RAISING OF JAIRUS’S DAUGHTER.

MATT. 9, 18—26.

18 While he spake these things unto them, behold, there came a certain ruler, and worshipped him saying, My daughter is even now dead: but come and lay thy hand upon her, and she shall live.

19 And Jesus arose, and followed him, and so did his disciples.

20 And behold, a woman &c.

23 And when Jesus came into the ruler’s house, and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise,

24 He said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn.

25 But when the people were put forth, he went in, and took her by the hand, and the maid arose.

26 And the fame hereof went abroad into all that land.

MARK 5, 22—43.

22 And, behold, there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name, and when he saw him, he fell at his feet,

23 And besought him greatly, saying, My little daughter lieth at the point of death: I PRAY THEE, come and lay thy hands on her, that she may be healed; and she shall live.

24 And Jesus went with him; and much people followed him and thronged him.

25 And a certain woman &c.

35 While he yet spake, there came from the ruler of the synagogue’s house CERTAIN which said, Thy daughter is dead: why troublest thou the Master any further?

36 As soon as Jesus heard the word that was spoken, he saith unto the ruler of the synagogue, Be not afraid, only believe.

37 And he suffered no man to follow him, save Peter, and James, and John the brother of James.

38 And he cometh to the house of the synagogue, and seeth the tumult, and them that wept and wailed greatly.

LUKE 8, 41—56.

41 And, behold, there came a man named Jairus, and he was a ruler of the synagogue: and he fell down at Jesus’s feet, and besought him that he would come into his house:

42 For he had one only daughter, about twelve years of age, and she lay a dying. But as he went the people thronged him.

43 And a woman &c.

49 While he yet spake, there cometh one from the ruler of the synagogue’s house, saying to him, Thy daughter is dead: trouble not the Master.

50 But when Jesus heard it, he answered him, saying, Fear not: believe only, and she shall be made whole.

51 And when he came into the house, he suffered no man to go in, save Peter, and James, and John, and the father and the mother of the maiden.

39 And when he was come in, he saith unto them, Why make ye this ado, and weep? the damsel is not dead, but sleepeth.

40 And they laughed him to scorn. But when he had put them all out, he taketh the father and the mother of the damsel, and them that were with him, and entereth in where the damsel was lying.

41 And he took the damsel by the hand, and said unto her Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee, arise.

42 And straightway the damsel arose, and walked; for she was OF THE AGE OF twelve years. And they were astonished with a great astonishment.

43 And he charged them straitly that no man should know it; and commanded that something should be given her to eat.

52 And all wept, and bewailed her: but he said, Weep not; she is not dead, but sleepeth.

53 And they laughed him to scorn, knowing that she was dead.

54 And he put them all out, and took her by the hand, and called saying, Maid, arise.

55 And her spirit came again, and she arose straightway: and he commanded to give meat.

56 And her parents were astonished: but he charged them that they should tell no man what was done.

The three gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, agree in fixing the *scene* of this miracle at Capernann, the *time*, close upon the return of Jesus into Galilee, after casting out the devils which were suffered to enter into the bodies of the swine.

There are however certain differences in the three accounts, which indicate a traditional origin.

1. St Matthew says that the ruler's daughter was already dead, and that the ruler came and asked Jesus to restore her to life: Mark and Luke, however, relate, with greater probability, that the child was lying at the point of death, and that her father requested Jesus to go and heal her.

On their way to the house, the people thronged him, and a woman having an issue of blood, under circumstances told briefly

MATT. 19, 1.

And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan.

MARK 10, 1.

And he arose from thence, and cometh into the coasts of Judæa by the farther side of Jordan: and the people resort unto him again, and as he was wont, he taught them again.

by Matthew and more fully by the other two, was cured by touching him. Immediately after this, messengers from the ruler's house, according to Mark and Luke, bring the information that the child is dead.

2. Mark and Luke state that Jesus suffered only Peter, James and John to follow him into the ruler's house : but Matthew does not mention this circumstance.

3. The conclusion of the history is also different, for whilst we learn from Matthew that the report of the miracle "went abroad into all that land," Mark and Luke relate that Jesus charged the father and mother, who with his three disciples were the only persons that entered the room, "that they should tell no man what was done."

CHAPTER XXXI.

CHRIST'S LAST JOURNEY AND TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM.

The ministry of Christ in Galilee ends with a journey from Capernaum, where he principally resided, to Jerusalem, into which he entered in triumph, riding upon an ass. This distinction is less obvious in St John's gospel, on account of its didactic nature, than in the others. Yet even in John's gospel the historical division is evident.

The principal points of the last journey and the triumphal entry into Jerusalem here follow in the words of the four gospels.

LUKE 9, 51.

And it came to pass when the time was come that he should be received up, he stedfastly set his face to go up to Jerusalem.

17, 11. And it came to pass, as

JOHN 11, 54.

Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews; but went thence to a country near to the wilderness, into a city called Ephraim, and there continued with

20, 17. And Jesus, going up to Jerusalem, took the twelve disciples apart in the way, and said unto them, 18 Behold, we go up Jerusalem, &c.

20, 29. And as they departed from Jericho a great multitude followed him. CH. XXI.

And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, and were come to Bethphage, unto the mount of Olives, then sent Jesus two disciples,

2 Saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway ye shall find an ass tied and a colt with her : loose *them*, and bring *them* unto me.

3 And if any *man* say ought unto you, ye shall say, 'The Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.

4 All this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying,

5 Tell ye the daughter of Sion, Behold, thy King cometh unto thee, meek, and sitting upon an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass.

6 And the disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them,

7 And brought the ass, and the colt, and put on them their clothes, and they set *him* thereon.

8 And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way ; others cut down branches from the trees, and strawed *them* in the way.

9 And the multitudes that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the son of David : Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord ; Hosanna in the highest.

10, 32. And they were in the way going up to Jerusalem ; and Jesus went before them and they were amazed ; and, as they followed, they were afraid. And he took again the twelve, and began to tell them what things should happen unto him, 33 Saying, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem &c.

10, 46. And they came to Jericho &c. CH. XI.

And when they came nigh to Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount of Olives, he sendeth forth two of his disciples,

2 And saith unto them, Go your way into the village over against you : and as soon as ye be entered into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon never man sat ; loose him, and bring *him*.

3 And if any man say unto you, Why do ye this ? say ye that the Lord hath need of him ; and straightway he shall send him hither.

4 And they went their way, and found the colt tied by the door without in a place where two ways met : and they loose him.

5 And certain of them that stood there said unto them, What do ye, loosing the colt ?

6 And they said unto them even as Jesus had commanded : and they let them go.

7 And they brought the colt to Jesus, and cast their garments on him ; and he sat upon him.

8 And many spread their garments in the way : and others cut down branches off the trees, and strawed *them* in the way.

9 And they that went before, and they that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna ; Blessed *is* he that cometh in the name of the Lord :

10 Blessed *be* the kingdom of our father David, that cometh in the name of the Lord : Hosanna in the highest.

he went to Jerusalem, that he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee.

18, 31. Then he took unto him the twelve, and said unto them, Behold, we go up to Jerusalem, &c.

18, 35. And it came to pass, that as he was come nigh unto Jericho, &c.

19, 1. And Jesus entered and passed through Jericho &c.

19, 28. And when he had thus spoken, he went before, ascending up to Jerusalem.

29 And it came to pass, when he was come nigh to Bethphage and Bethany, at the mount called *the mount of Olives*, he sent two of his disciples,

30 Saying, Go ye into the village over against *you*; in the which at your entering ye shall find a colt tied, whereon yet never man sat: loose him, and bring *him hither*.

31 And if any man ask you, Why do ye loose *him*? thus shall ye say unto him, Because the Lord hath need of him.

32 And they that were sent went their way, and found even as he had said unto them.

33 And as they were loosing the colt, the owners thereof said unto them, Why loose ye the colt?

34 And they said, The Lord hath need of him.

35 And they brought him to Jesus: and they cast their garments upon the colt, and they set Jesus thereon.

36 And as he went, they spread their clothes in the way.

37 And when he was come nigh, even now at the descent of the mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works that they had seen:

38 Saying, Blessed *be* the King that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.

his disciples. 55 And the Jews' passover was nigh at hand &c.

12, 1. Then Jesus six days before the passover came to Bethany, where Lazarus was which had been dead, whom he raised from the dead. 2 There they made him a supper &c.

12 On the next day much people that were come to the feast, when they heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem,

13 Took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna: Blessed is the King of Israel that cometh in the name of the Lord.

14 And Jesus, when he had found a young ass, sat thereon; as it is written,

15 Fear not, daughter of Sion: behold, thy King cometh, sitting on an ass's colt.

16 These things understood not his disciples at the first: but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of him, and *that* they had done these things unto him.

17 The people therefore that was with him when he called Lazarus out of his grave, and raised him from the dead, bare record.

18 For this cause the people also met him, for that they heard that he had done this miracle.

10 And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this?

11 And the multitude said, This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee.

There are three points in these accounts which are at variance one with another.

1. Matthew, Mark and Luke represent Jesus as going up to Jerusalem from Galilee, passing through Jericho, and then riding on the ass from Bethphage and Bethany, into Jerusalem, without stopping at Bethany. John, on the other hand, brings Jesus not from Galilee but from the city of Ephraim, and makes him partake of a supper and pass the night at Bethany.

2. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, who agree in bringing Jesus out of Galilee, differ about the road which he took. The two former say that he crossed the Jordan and passed along to the east of that river, again crossing it to the westward near Jericho: but Luke says, as plainly, at 17, 11, that he came by the strait road which led through Galilee and Samaria.

3. A third difference between the evangelists is equally real, but of less importance. Whilst Matthew speaks of an ass, and a colt the foal of an ass, the other three name the ass's colt only. The variation may be explained—the word *and* should be rendered *even*; and we get a meaning that at once reconciles Matthew with the other three, “an ass, *even* a colt the foal of an ass.” But this very solution is in itself a more powerful argument against the originality of Matthew's gospel than the error which it remedies—for it shews that Matthew copied from some original documents which he could not understand, and that he is a compiler from others, instead of being an original authority or eye-witness.

4. Lastly, as regards the honours paid to Christ in his entry into Jerusalem, Matthew says that a “very great multitude” “spread their garments in the way,” and he speaks of the “multitudes that went before and that followed.” Mark, more mode-

39 And some of the Pharisees from among the multitude said unto him, Master, rebuke thy disciples.

40 And he answered and said unto them, I tell you that, if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.

19 The Pharisees therefore said among themselves, Perceive ye how ye prevail nothing? behold, the world is gone after him.

rate in his terms, says that "many spread their garments in the way," and Luke, keeping still closer to probability, says "they," i. e. the disciples, "spread their clothes in the way," and "the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice &c." John, however, is altogether at variance with all the three, for having made Jesus rest that night at Bethany, he says that, "on the next day" the multitude who escorted him into Jerusalem consisted of the "much people that were come unto the feast," and now went out expressly to meet him. It is seldom that histories written by contemporary historians present such discrepancies as these, and very hard to believe that they could possibly proceed from eye-witnesses: but that such histories were written by the immediate inspiration of God, is wholly inadmissible.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE BARREN FIG-TREE.

When our Lord, after receiving such triumphal honours, had entered Jerusalem, he went, in the words of Mark (11, 11),

into the temple; and when he had looked round about upon all things, and now the eventide was come, he went out unto Bethany with the twelve.

From this time until his crucifixion it was his practice to walk into Jerusalem in the morning, and to return to dine in the afternoon at Bethany. The incident of the barren fig-tree is told by Matthew and Mark, and is said to have happened the first morning after his triumphal entry.

MATT. 21, 18—22.

18 Now in the morning as he returned into the city, he hungered.

19 And when he saw a fig tree in the way, he came to it, and found nothing thereon but leaves only, and said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever. And presently the fig tree withered away!

20 And when the disciples saw it, they marvelled, saying, How soon is the fig tree withered away!

21 Jesus said unto them, Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith, and doubt not, ye shall not only do this *which is done* to the fig tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed and be thou cast into the sea; it shall be done.

22 And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.

MARK 11, 12—24.

12 And on the morrow, when they were come from Bethany, he was hungry:

13 And seeing a fig tree afar off having leaves, he came, if haply he might find any thing thereon: and when he came to it, he found nothing but leaves; for the time of figs was not yet.

14 And Jesus answered and said unto it, No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever. And his disciples heard it.

20 And in the morning, as they passed by, they saw the fig tree dried up from the roots.

21 And Peter calling to remembrance saith unto him, Master, behold, the fig tree which thou cursedst is withered away.

22 And Jesus answering saith unto them, Have faith in God.

23 For verily I say unto you, That whosoever shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed, and be thou cast into the sea; and shall not doubt in his heart, but shall believe that those things which he saith shall come to pass; he shall have whatsoever he saith.

24 Therefore I say unto you, What things soever ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive *them* and ye shall have *them*.

We have here marks of something more than a traditional origin: it is certain that the general character of the event and of Christ's conduct has been corrupted; for.

1. We nowhere find in all the gospels a similar instance of Christ's power being put forth to do harm rather than good. It is of no importance whether the fig-tree, which withered when Jesus cursed it, was public or private property, save that, in the latter case, the owner might justly have complained of the wrong done to him. But even if the fig was growing on the waste by the road-side—which is not probable, considering that Christ saw it

“afar off” (verse 12)—yet it was placed there by the providence of God to live its time and to perish when its time was come, not to be cursed and to perish prematurely by a curse pronounced gratuitously upon it. We are therefore justified in believing that some particulars developing the true character of this transaction have been lost, and this view coincides most happily with the theory that all our existing gospels are, as their traditional origin would make them, occasionally contradictory.

2. A second observation on this act of Jesus involves a contradiction between the two accounts. Matthew says that the fig tree withered in the sight of the disciples, immediately after the words of Jesus : Mark says that the disciples did not observe the withering of the tree until the following morning. Reduced to the test of reason, the latter is the more probable of the two.

3. But thirdly, we must not omit to notice the very extraordinary avowal of Mark that “the time of figs was not *yet*.” If so, why did our Lord expect to find figs upon the tree ? and why did he, as a child strikes an inanimate thing that hurts him, curse the tree for not producing fruit, when the season for that fruit was not yet come ? This is not the real character of the story ; nor is it possible now to recover its real character, which has passed into the gulf of oblivion, leaving behind it only what the compilers of our gospel-histories have been able to recover from the wreck.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE LAST SUPPER.

The didactic character of St John’s gospel shows itself most conspicuously in the account of the last supper of which Christ partook with his disciples. The account of the supper begins with chapter 13 verse 1, and ends at chap. 18 verse 1, where is related the departure of Christ and his disciples from the supper-room : almost the whole interval of five chapters is filled with his discourses and exhortations. In the middle of these, at the end of

chapter 14 is the exclamation, "Arise, let us go hence," introduced very abruptly, and leading to no move on the part of the guests, for they still listen to other admonitions which fill chapters 15, 16, and 17.

MATT. 26, 17—30.

17 Now the first *day* of the *feast* of unleavened bread the disciples came to Jesus, saying unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare for thee to eat the passover?

18 And he said, Go into the city to such a man, and say unto him, The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples.

19 And the disciples did as Jesus had appointed them; and they made ready the passover.

20 Now when the even was come, he sat down with the twelve.

21 And as they did eat, he said, Verily I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

22 And they were exceeding sorrowful, and began every one of them to say unto him, Lord, is it I?

23 And he answered and said, He that dippeth *his* hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me.

24 The Son of man goeth as it is written of him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! it had been good for that man if he had not been born.

25 Then Judas, which betrayed him, answered and said, Master, is it I? He said unto him, Thou hast said.

MARK 14, 12—26.

12 And the first day of unleavened bread, when they killed the passover, his disciples said unto him, Where wilt thou that we go and prepare that thou mayest eat the passover.

13 And he sendeth forth two of his disciples, and saith unto them, Go ye into the city, and there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water: follow him.

14 And wheresoever he shall go in, say ye to the goodman of the house, The master saith, Where is the guestchamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?

15 And he will shew you a large upper room furnished *and* prepared: there make ready for us.

16 And his disciples went forth, and came into the city, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

17 And in the evening he cometh with the twelve.

18 And as they sat and did eat, Jesus said, Verily I say unto you, One of you which eateth with me shall betray me.

19 And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto him one by one, *Is it I?* and another said, *Is it I?*

20 And he answered and said unto them, *It is* one of the twelve, that dippeth with me in the dish.

21 The Son of man indeed goeth, as it is written of him: but woe to that man by whom the Son of man is betrayed! good were it for that man if he had never been born.

The supper of which we are now speaking, is one of the most interesting and important events of the whole gospel-history, and is related by all the evangelists.

LUKE 22, 7—35.

7 Then came the day of unleavened bread, when the passover must be killed.

8 And he sent Peter and John, saying, Go and prepare us the passover, that we may eat.

9 And they said unto him, Where wilt thou that we prepare.

10 And he said unto them, Behold when ye are entered into the city, there shall a man meet you, bearing a pitcher of water; follow him into the house where he entereth in.

11 And ye shall say unto the good-man of the house, The Master saith unto thee, Where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the passover with my disciples?

12 And he shall shew you a large upper room furnished: there make ready.

13 And they went, and found as he had said unto them: and they made ready the passover.

14 And when the hour was come, he sat down, and the twelve apostles with him.

15 And he said unto them, With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer:

16 For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the kingdom of God.

17 And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves:

18 For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.

19 And he took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it and gave unto them, saying, This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me.

JOHN 13, 1—18, 2.

Now before the feast of the passover, when Jesus knew that his hour was come that he should depart out of this world unto the Father, having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them unto the end.

2 And supper being ended, the devil having now put into the heart of Judas Iscariot, Simon's son, to betray him;

3 Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God and went to God,

4 He riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself.

5 After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded.

6 Then cometh he to Simon Peter: and Peter saith unto him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet?

7 Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not

MATT.

26 And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed *it*, and brake *it*, and gave *it* to the disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body.

27 And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave *it* to them, saying, Drink ye all of it;

28 For this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.

29 But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom.

30 And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives.

MARK.

22 And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake *it*, and gave to them, and said, Take, eat: this is my body.

23 And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave *it* to them: and they all drank of it.

24 And he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.

25 Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, untill that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.

26 And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives.

LUKE.

20 Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, This cup *is* the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

21 But, behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me *is* with me on the table.

22 And truly the Son of man goeth, as it was determined: but woe unto that man by whom he is betrayed!

23 And they began to enquire among themselves, which of them it was that should do this thing.

24 And there was also a strife among them, which of them should be accounted the greatest.

25 And he said unto them, The kings of the Gentiles &c. &c.

31 And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat:

32 But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.

33 And he said unto him, Lord, I am ready to go with thee, both into prison, and to death.

34 And he said, I tell thee, Peter,

JOHN.

now; but thou shalt know hereafter.

8 Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me.

9 Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also *my* hands and *my* head.

10 Jesus saith to him, He that is washed needeth not save to wash *his* feet, but is clean every whit: and ye are clean, but not all.

11 For he knew who should betray him; therefore said he, Ye are not all clean.

12 So after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you?

18 Ye call me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am.

14 If I then, *your* Lord and Master, have washed your feet; ye also ought to wash one another's feet.

15 For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you.

16 Verily, verily, I say unto you

LUKE.

the cock shall not crow this day, before that thou shalt thrice deny that thou knowest me.

35 And he said unto them, When I sent you &c.

scripture may be fulfilled, He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me.

19 Now I tell you before it come, that, when it is come to pass, ye may believe that I am *he*.

20 Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth me; and he that receiveth me receiveth him that sent me.

21 When Jesus had thus said, he was troubled in spirit, and testified, and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, that one of you shall betray me.

22 Then the disciples looked one on another, doubting of whom he spake.

23 Now there was leaning on Jesus's bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved.

24 Simon Peter therefore beckoned to him, that he should ask who it should be of whom he spake.

25 He then lying on Jesus's breast saith unto him, Lord, who is it?

26 Jesus answered, He it is, to whom I shall give a sop, when I have dipped *it*. And when he had dipped the sop, he gave *it* to Judas Iscariot, *the son of Simon*.

27 And after the sop Satan entered into him. Then said Jesus unto him, That thou doest, do quickly.

28 Now no man at the table knew for what intent he spake this unto him.

29 For some of *them* thought, because Judas had the bag, that Jesus had said unto him, Buy *those things* that we have need of against the feast; or, that he should give something to the poor.

30 He then having received the sop went immediately out: and it was night.

31 Therefore, when he was gone out, Jesus said, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in him.

32 If God be glorified in him, God shall also glorify him in himself, and shall straightway glorify him.

33 Little children, yet a little while I am with you. Ye shall seek me: and as I said unto the Jews, Whither I go, ye cannot come; so now I say to you.

34 A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another.

35 By this shall all *men* know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

36 Simon Peter said unto him Lord, whither goest thou? Jesus answered him, Whither I go, thou canst not follow me now; but thou shalt follow me afterwards.

37 Peter said unto him, Lord why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake.

JOHN.

The servant is not greater than his lord; neither he that is sent greater than he that sent him.

17 If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.

18 I speak not of you all: I know whom I have chosen: but that the

38 Jesus answered him, Wilt thou lay down thy life for my sake? Verily, verily, I say unto thee, The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice.

LUKE.

39 And he came out, and went, as he was wont, to the mount of Olives; and his disciples also followed him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

When Jesus had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron, where was a garden into the which he entered and his disciples.

2 And Judas also, which betrayed him, knew the place: for Jesus oft-times resorted thither with his disciples.

In examining these parallel narratives, we find there is a difference as to the *place*, the *time*, the *nature*, and the subordinate *circumstances* of the last supper, which warrant the belief that the accounts of it, thus divergent, have been compiled in a later age, when all the particulars that had been handed down respecting it, were already faint with time, and even in many respects contradictory.

1. As to the *place* of the supper; it appears from the concurrent testimony of the first three evangelists that it took place at Jerusalem, Jesus having sent some of his disciples that very morning from Bethany into the city to make preparation for the feast. But in the gospel of St John the supper appears to have been at Bethany, whither Christ returned every evening to take his meals, after the occupation of the day at Jerusalem—nothing is said of the sending the disciples into Jerusalem in the morning to make preparations for the feast, or of his going thither himself in the evening.

2. The *time*, also, of the supper is not the same in the four gospels; for, whilst Matthew, Mark and Luke fix it accurately in the evening, the first day of unleavened bread, i. e. the 14th of the month Nisan, which, according to our modern calendar, would be, for A. D. 30, the 9th day of April, the gospel of St John says with equal precision, “Now *before* the feast of the pass-over &c.”

3. As regards the *nature* of the supper also the last evangelist is not in harmony with the other three ; for Matthew, Mark and Luke all describe it as the passover or paschal feast, "they made ready the passover"; and Luke especially adds, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer": but John has not the slightest indication that it was the passover or any thing more than a common meal. These remarks apply to the beginning of the meal in saint John's gospel, not of course to its end ; for the narrative, after five chapters of intervening discourses and admonitions addressed to the disciples, does actually come round to the same point as the other three gospels, for, "when Jesus (18, 1) had spoken these words, he went forth with his disciples over the brook Cedron"; coming—it will be remembered—from Bethany, and not, as in Matthew, Mark, and Luke, from Jerusalem.

4. And lastly, the subordinate circumstances of the supper are equally divergent.

The first three evangelists relate the message carried by some of the disciples to a man in the city that he should make ready a room at his house for the paschal feast. This circumstance is not noticed by John, but it is also related differently by the other three. Whilst, according to Matthew, Christ sends his disciples generally, Mark says that only two went, and Luke tells us that these two were Peter and John. Again, in Matthew they are instructed to go to the house of a certain man [*πρὸς τὸν κεῖνα*] and give notice that they would eat the passover there that evening. But in Mark and Luke, they are instructed to follow a servant who should meet them in the street bearing a pitcher of water into a house where they should find a table and room prepared for them. These details are not contradictory, and yet the one excludes the other. If they went to the house of a certain man—whereby is implied that Jesus specified the man by name, what was the need of their watching the servant in the street to know where they should go? It is evident that the evangelists have written according to the knowledge of each, and

that the traditions which they followed had become divergent one from another.

We proceed to review the incidents that are said to have happened at the feast, and these also are very differently told by the four.

In the first place Matthew and Mark relate Christ's detection of Judas's treachery as preceding the institution of the communion : but Luke inverts this order and places the communion first. John, however, omits all notice of the communion and instead represents Jesus as washing the feet of his disciples. He also makes Judas Iscariot leave the feast, immediately after his treason was detected. If we insert this fact as having been accidentally omitted by the first three gospels, we still cannot reconcile the accounts of Matthew Mark and Luke, for if in Matthew and Mark the previous detection of Judas saved him from the sin of partaking in the communion, yet in Luke, his detection followed after the institution of that ceremony, and he consequently must have partaken of it. But the probability is that Matthew, Mark and Luke were not aware that Judas left the room, for they do not relate his detection in such explicit terms as John ; who alone says that Jesus presented a sop to the traitor who immediately left the room : in the other three evangelists, there is no indication of Judas having been designated so pointedly.

Secondly, Luke places the "strife among the disciples which should be greatest" as one of the incidents of the last supper ; but Mark says that it took place as they were on their way to Capernaum some time before.

Thirdly, according to Luke, Christ foretells Peter's denial of him whilst they are still sitting at meat, but Matthew and Mark agree in placing it after their arrival at the mount of Olives.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CHRIST'S AGONY IN THE GARDEN OF GETHSEMANE.

From the mount of Olives, Jesus and his disciples withdraw into the neighbouring garden of Gethsemane. The fourth gospel then immediately relates the coming of Judas and his betrayal of his master, but the other three gospels interpose a scene generally called the *Agony in the garden*.

MATT. 26, 36—46.

36 Then cometh Jesus with them unto a place called Gethsemane, and saith unto the disciples, Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder.

37 And he took with him Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, and began to be sorrowful and very heavy.

38 Thensaith he unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here, and watch with me.

39 And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.

40 And he cometh unto the disciples, and findeth them asleep, and saith unto Peter, What, could ye not watch with me one hour?

41 Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation: the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

42 He went away again the second time, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.

43 And he came and found them asleep again: for their eyes were heavy.

44 And he left them, and went away again, and prayed the third time, saying the same words.

45 Then cometh he to his disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: behold, the hour is at hand, and the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.

46 Rise, let us be going: behold, he is at hand that doth betray me.

MARK 14, 32—42.

32 And they came to a place which was named Gethsemane: and he saith to his disciples, Sit ye here, while I shall pray.

33 And he taketh with him Peter and James and John, and began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy;

34 And saith unto them, My soul is exceeding sorrowful unto death: tarry ye here, and watch.

35 And he went forward a little, and fell on the ground, and prayed that if it were possible, the hour might pass from him.

36 And he said, Abba, Father, all things are possible unto thee: take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will, but what thou wilt.

37 And he cometh, and findeth them sleeping, and saith unto Peter, Simon, sleepest thou? couldest not thou watch one hour?

38 Watch ye and pray, lest ye enter into temptation. The spirit truly is ready, but the flesh is weak.

39 And again he went away, and prayed, and spake the same words.

40 And when he returned, he found them asleep again, (for their eyes were heavy,) neither wist they what to answer him.

41 And he cometh the third time, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest: it is enough, the hour is come; behold, the Son of man is betrayed into the hands of sinners.

42 Rise up, let us go; lo, he that betrayeth me is at hand.

LUKE 22, 40—46.

40 And when he was at the place, he said unto them, Pray that ye enter not into temptation.

41 And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed,

42 Saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done.

43 And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him.

44 And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground.

45 And when he rose up from prayer, and was come to his disciples, he found them sleeping for sorrow,

46 And said unto them, Why sleep ye? rise and pray, lest ye enter into temptation.

The first observation called forth by a perusal of this narrative relates to the very remarkable circumstance of its being totally omitted by St John, one of the very three selected (if we may believe Matthew and Mark) to be more closely witnesses of it. To explain the omission by supposing that John's gospel was supplementary to the other three is impossible, for that gospel frequently mentions at length things of little moment that are also found in Matthew, Mark and Luke, whilst it fails to supply information on points of great interest that are cursorily treated by the others. The present is an event which would certainly have been worthy of elucidation from saint John, if his object had been to supply deficiencies; for, though Matthew, Mark and Luke relate the Agony in the Garden, yet they do it in such a manner as to give rise to more than one embarrassing question on the subject.

2. From Matthew and Luke we learn that Christ says to his disciples, "Sit ye here, while I go and pray yonder," and then taking with him his three favourite disciples Peter and James and John, goes, it appears, away to some little distance from the other eight. But at Matt. v. 38, and Mark v. 34, we read that he tells even them to tarry, i. e. to remain behind, and going himself alone a little further, throws himself upon the ground in prayer. But in Luke's gospel we find nothing of the selection of Peter and James and John: Christ only goes alone "about a stone's cast," kneels down and prays.

3. Luke adds the miraculous appearance of an angel sent to strengthen Christ: but neither Matthew nor Mark has this particular; which, we might suppose, would in itself have been a sufficient reason for some notice on the part of John who was so close a witness of it.

4. Matthew and Mark represent Christ as coming to the three disciples three times and each time finding them asleep. But Luke limits his account to one return, not to the three, but to all the eleven, and says that all the eleven were asleep from sorrow.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHRIST'S ARREST AND EXAMINATION BEFORE THE HIGH-PRIEST.

The agreement between the four evangelists, about the main outlines of Christ's life and death, is as striking as their want of agreement on all the minor details. Thus, in the account of his arrest, all the four agree in fixing it, for the *time*, on the evening of his last supper, and, for the *place*, in the garden of Gethsemane. These things may have descended to the writers of the gospels by tradition, and no variation have been made on points so specific. But in the minute details which the gospels give of the arrest, it is impossible to reconcile the accounts of the four together.

MATT. 26, 47—50.

47 And while he yet spake, lo, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and elders of the people.

48 Now he that betrayed him gave them a sign, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he: hold him fast.

49 And forthwith he came to Jesus, and said, Hail, master; and kissed him.

50 And Jesus said unto him, Friend, wherefore art thou come? Then came they, and laid hands on Jesus, and took him.

LUKE 22, 47—48.

47 And while he yet spake, behold a multitude, and he that was called Judas, one of the twelve, went before them, and drew near unto Jesus to kiss him.

48 But Jesus said unto him, Judas, Betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?

I am *he*. And Judas also, which betrayed him, stood with them. 6 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am *he*, they went backward, and fell to the ground. 7 Then asked he them again, Whom seek ye? And they said, Jesus of Nazareth. 8 Jesus answered, I have told you that I am *he*: if therefore ye seek me, let these go their way; 9 That the saying might be fulfilled, which he spake, Of them which thou gavest me have I lost none.

MARK 14, 43—46.

43 And immediately, while he yet spake, cometh Judas, one of the twelve, and with him a great multitude with swords and staves, from the chief priests and the scribes and the elders.

44 And he that betrayed him had given them a token, saying, Whomsoever I shall kiss, that same is he; take him, and lead *him* away safely.

45 And as soon as he was come, he goeth straightway to him, and saith, Master, master; and kissed him.

46 And they laid their hands on him, and took him.

JOHN 18, 3—9.

3 Judas then, having received a band of *men* and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, cometh thither with lanterns and torches and weapons.

4 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them, Whom seek ye?

5 They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them,

Here, though all agree that Jesus was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, yet the mode in which this was done is differently told by the four. If, with John, Jesus stepped forth and declared himself, it is evident that Judas did not indicate him by going up and kissing him, or, at least, such a step would have been superfluous.—John's narrative is on the whole the most divergent, for he introduces, besides the dialogue between Jesus and the soldiers who arrest him, a very extraordinary display of supernatural power, wholly unnoticed by the other three. The omission of this fact is fatal to their claim of having been present at this remarkable scene. That all the four copied from such desultory sources as had come down to their times, and neither were themselves eye-witnesses nor drew from the writings of those who were, is perhaps more evident from the little incident of Peter's smiting the high priest's servant than from any other particular. It is related by all the four, immediately after the kiss of Judas.

MATT. 26, 51—56.

51 And behold, one of them which were with Jesus stretched out *his* hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's, and smote off his ear.

52 Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.

53 Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of angels?

54 But how then shall the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?

55 In that same hour said Jesus to the multitudes, Are ye come out as against a thief with swords and staves for to take me? I sat daily with you teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on me.

56 But all this was done, that the scriptures of the prophets might be fulfilled. Then all the disciples forsook him, and fled.

MARK 14, 47—52.

47 And one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest, and cut off his ear.

48 And Jesus answered and said unto them, Are ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and *with* staves to take me?

49 I was daily with you in the temple teaching, and ye took me not: but the scriptures must be fulfilled.

50 And they all forsook him, and fled.

51 And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about *his* naked *body*; and the young men laid hold on him:

52 And he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked.

LUKE 22, 49—53.

49 When they which were about him saw what would follow, they said unto him, Lord, shall we smite with the sword?

50 And one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear.

51 And Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear, and healed him.

52 Then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves?

53 When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me: but this is your hour, and the power of darkness.

JOHN 18, 10—11.

10 Then Simon Peter having a sword drew it, and smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his right ear. The servant's name was Malchus.

11 Then said Jesus unto Peter, Put up thy sword into the sheath: the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?

The growth of this circumstance from Mark's simple statement that "one of them that stood by drew a sword, and smote a servant of the high priest and cut off his ear," is worthy of notice.

First: Luke adds that all the disciples meant to defend themselves, and asked Jesus, "Shall we smite with the sword?"

Secondly: Matthew adds that Jesus reproved the author of the deed.

Thirdly: from Luke we learn that Jesus also healed the wounded ear with a touch.

Fourthly: John makes the history complete by adding that it was Peter who struck the blow, and that Malchus was the name of the wounded servant.

This accession of particulars looks exceedingly like the slow process of additional features, made bit by bit, which all such accounts receive, when a number of persons are trying to bring to light what has begun to fade away, and each particular has to be sought after with patient zeal and untiring perseverance—every contributor being, as it would seem, ignorant of the effect of his discoveries, and careful only to collect facts, which hereafter may be blended together,—unless it be an isolated fact, as of the young man, named by Mark, who, alarmed at what was

going on in the dead of night, threw a sheet from the bed round his body, but, surprised and frightened at the sight of the soldiers, left his covering in their hands, and fled naked away.

The company of soldiers meanwhile carry off their prisoner ; but,

MATT. 26, 57—75.

57 And they that had laid hold on Jesus led *him* away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled.

58 But Peter followed him afar off unto the high priest's palace, and went in, and sat with the servants, to see the end.

59 Now the chief priests, and elders, and all the council, sought false witness against Jesus, to put him to death,

60 But found none : yea, though many false witnesses came, *yet* found they none. At the last came two false witnesses,

61 And said, This *fellow* said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days.

62 And the high priest arose, and said unto him, Answerest thou nothing? what *is it which* these witness against thee?

63 But Jesus held his peace. And the high priest answered and said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ the Son of God.

64 Jesus saith unto him, Thou hast said : nevertheless I say unto you, Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven.

65 Then the high priest rent his cloths, Saying, He hath spoken

MARK, 14, 53—72.

53 And they led Jesus away to the high priest : and with him were assembled all the chief priests and the elders and the scribes.

54 And Peter followed him afar off, even into the palace of the high priest : and sat with the servants, and warmed himself at the fire.

55 And the chief priests and all the council sought for witness against Jesus to put him to death ; and found none.

56 For many bare false witness against him, but their witness agreed not together.

57 And there arose certain, and bare false witness against him, saying,

58 We heard him say, I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands.

59 But neither so did their witness agree together.

60 And the high priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus, saying, Answerest thou nothing? what *is it which* these witness against thee?

61 But he held his peace, and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, and said unto him, Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?

62 And Jesus said, I am : and ye

though the disciples had at first all taken to flight, Peter came again and followed his master, in company, says John's gospel, with another disciple, generally said to have been John himself. The four narratives proceed thus.

LUKE 22, 54—71.

54 Then took they him, and led *him*, and brought him into the high priest's house.

And Peter followed afar off.

55 And when they had kindled a fire in the midst of the hall, and were set down together, Peter sat down among them.

56 But a certain maid beheld him as he sat by the fire, and earnestly looked upon him, and said, This man was also with him.

57 And he denied him saying, Woman, I know him not.

58 And after a little while another saw him, and said, Thou art also of them. And Peter said, Man, I am not.

59 And about the space of one hour after another confidently affirmed, saying, Of a truth this *fellow* was also with him : for he is a Galilæan.

60 And Peter said, Man, I know not what thou sayest. And immediately, while he yet spake, the cock crew.

61 And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how he had said unto him, Before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice.

62 And Peter went out, and wept bitterly.

JOHN 18, 12—26.

12 Then the band and the captain and officers of the Jews took Jesus, and bound him,

13 And led him away to Annas first; for he was father in law to Caiaphas, which was the high priest that same year.

14 Now Caiaphas was he, which gave counsel to the Jews, that it was expedient that one man should die for the people.

15 And Simon Peter followed Jesus, and so *did* another disciple : that disciple was known unto the high priest, and went in with Jesus into the palace of the high priest.

16 But Peter stood at the door without. Then went out that other disciple, which was known unto the high priest, and spake unto her that kept the door, and brought in Peter.

17 Then saith the damsel that kept the door unto Peter, Art not thou also *one* of this man's disciples ? He saith, I am not.

18 And the servants and officers stood there, who had made a fire of coals; for it was cold : and they warmed themselves : and Peter stood with them, and warmed himself.

19 The high priest then asked Jesus of his disciples, and of his doctrine.

20 Jesus answered him, I spake openly to the world ; I ever taught in the synagogue, and in the temple, whither the Jews always resort ; and in secret have I said nothing.

21 Why askest thou me ? ask them which heard me, what I have said unto them : behold, they know

MATT.

blasphemy ; what further need have we of witnesses ? behold, now ye have heard his blasphemy.

66 What think ye ? They answered and said, He is guilty of death.

67 Then did they spit in his face, and buffeted him ; and others smote *him* with the palms of their hands,

68 Saying, Prophecy unto us, thou Christ, Who is he that smote thee ?

69 Now Peter sat without in the palace : and a damsel came unto him, saying, Thou also wast with Jesus of Galilee.

70 But he denied before *them* all, saying, I know not what thou sayest.

71 And when he was gone out into the porch, another *maid* saw him, and said unto them that were there, This *fellow* was also with Jesus of Nazareth.

72 And again he denied with an oath, I do not know the man.

73 And after a while came unto *him* they that stood by, and said to Peter, Surely thou also art *one* of them ; for thy speech betrayeth thee.

74 Then began he to curse and to swear, *saying*, I know not the man. And immediately the cock crew.

75 And Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly.

MARK.

shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven.

63 Then the high priest rent his clothes, and saith, What need we any further witnesses ?

64 Ye have heard the blasphemy : what think ye ? And they all condemned him to be guilty of death.

65 And some began to spit on him, and to cover his face, and to buffet him, and to say unto him, Prophecy : and the servants did strike him with the palms of their hands.

66 And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high priest :

67 And when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth.

68 But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understood I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch ; and the cock crew.

69 And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is *one* of them.

70 And he denied it again. And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art *one* of them : for thou art a Galilæan, and thy speech agreeth *thereto*.

71 But he began to curse and to swear, *saying*, I know not this man of whom ye speak.

72 And the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.

In these accounts are many particulars, difficult to be reconciled.

1. Whilst in the other three gospels Jesus is led straight into the palace of the high priest, we find in John that he is first led

LUKE

63 And the men that held Jesus mocked him, and smote *him*.

64 And when they had blindfolded him, they struck him on the face, and asked him, saying, Prophesy, who is it that smote thee?

65 And many other things blasphemously spake they against him.

66 And as soon as it was day, the elders of the people and the chief priests and the scribes came together, and led him into their council, saying,

67 Art thou the Christ? tell us. And he said unto them, If I tell you, ye will not believe:

18 And if I also ask *you*, ye will not answer me, nor let *me* go.

69 Hereafter shall the Son of man sit on the right hand of the power of God.

70 Then said they all, Art thou then the Son of God? And he said unto them, Ye say that I am.

17 And they said, What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.

JOHN

what I said.

22 And when he had thus spoken, one of the officers which stood by struck Jesus with the palm of his hand, saying, Answerest thou the high priest so?

23 Jesus answered him, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil: but if well, why smitest thou me?

24 Now Annas had * sent him bound unto Caiaphas the high priest.

25 And Simon Peter stood and warmed himself. They said therefore unto him, Art not thou also *one* of his disciples? He denied *it*, and said, I am not.

26 One of the servants of the high priest, being *his* kinsman whose ear Peter cut off, saith, Did not I see thee in the garden with him?

27 Peter then denied again: and immediately the cock crew.

* HAD is an interpolation of our translators. The original Greek is ἀπέστειλεν, which must apply to a consecutive series of events.

away to Annas the father-in-law of Caiaphas (v. 13), and yet within a few verses (v. 15) Peter is said to have followed Jesus into the palace of the high-priest, having been detained a short time at the door until his companion (John?) had obtained his admission.

The discrepancy appears to arise solely from the rude and incoherent manner in which the fourth gospel is compiled : often relating facts of which no trace occurs elsewhere, it as often damages their credibility by the confused order and incoherent manner in which they are related.

2. If, then, we cut the previous difficulty, and lay the scene of Christ's examination in the palace of the high priest, we have next to observe that St Luke puts off that examination until the next morning early (v. 66), leaving Jesus for the night in the hands of the servants and officers who make sport of him, blindfold him, and treat him with many indignities. In this Luke is not borne out by the other three, all of whom relate the examination as occurring over night, and place the buffeting and smiting, as the immediate consequence of his having been therein declared to be worthy of death.

3. But a third discrepancy, concerning the denial of Christ by Peter, furnishes a still stronger proof that these records have not come down to us with the exactness of a contemporary character, much less with the authority of inspiration. The four accounts of Peter's denial vary considerably.

The variations will be more intelligible, exhibited in a tabular form.

1st DENIAL.	2nd DENIAL.	3rd DENIAL.
According to MATTHEW— seated in an outer room, by the fire, to a damsel.	Out in the porch, to another maid.	Out in the porch, to the by- standers.
MARK—Agrees with Matthew in all three.		
LUKE—seated in an outer room by the fire, to a damsel.	Still near the fire, to another damsel.	Still near the fire, to a man.
JOHN—On entering, to the damsel who kept the door.	Seated by the fire, to the by-standers.	Still seated by the fire, to one of the servants, who was a relation of Malchus.

The circumstance of the cock crowing is also differently told. Mark alone says that the first crowing was immediately after the first denial, and the second immediately after the third. The other three place the only crowing with which they were acquainted immediately after the third denial.

Such variations do not impugn the idea of the fact, but only the accuracy of the writers ; and the introduction of the cock at all

seems to militate against all the four alike, for they all place the scene over night, and cocks do not crow until the dawn of day.

Lastly, there is a remarkable feature added to the story by saint Luke alone—that Jesus, after the third denial, turned and looked at Peter, who was smitten with remorse and went out to weep bitterly. But all the other three evangelists agree that Jesus and Peter were separated from one another—Matthew and Mark even tell us that, whilst the former was led in before the high priest, the latter sat without by the fire. To harmonize these different authorities, without rejecting one of them, is impossible, though it may not be difficult to extract from them a consistent narrative, if reason and not preconceived opinion, be allowed its due weight in conducting the enquiry.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CHRIST'S TRIAL BEFORE PILATE.

The examination of Christ before the Jewish sanhedrim—for such appears to have been the meeting of priests and elders—being completed ; he is next sent before Pilate, the Roman governor, where he is again tried, and his trial is thus related by the four evangelists.

MATT. 27, 1—31.

MARK 15, 1—20.

LUKE 22, 1—25.

JOHN 18, 28—19, 16.

When the morning was come, all the chief priests and elders of the people took counsel against Jesus to put him to death :
 And straightway in the morning the chief priests held a consultation with the elders and scribes and the whole council, and bound Jesus, and carried him away, and delivered him unto Pilate.
 2 And when they had bound Jesus, and carried him away, and delivered him unto Pilate the governor. . .
 And the whole multitude of them arose, and led him unto Pilate.
 28 Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment : and it was early ; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled ; but that they might eat the passover.
 29 Pilate then went out unto them, and said, What accusation bring ye against this man ? 30 They answered and said unto him, If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up unto thee. 31 Then said Pilate unto them, Take ye him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews therefore said unto him, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death : 32 That the saying of Jesus might be fulfilled, which he spake, signifying what death he should die. 33 Then Pilate en-

MATT.

11 And Jesus stood before the governor : and the governor asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews ? And Jesus said unto him, Thou sayest it.

12 And when he was accused of the chief priests and elders, he answered nothing.

13 Then said Pilate unto him, Hearst thou not how many things they witness against thee ?

14 And he answered him to never a word ; insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly.

MARK.

2 And Pilate asked him, Art thou the King of the Jews ? And he answering said unto him, Thou sayest it.

3 And the chief priests accused him of many things : but he answered nothing.

4 And Pilate asked him again, saying, Answerest thou nothing ? behold how many things they witness against thee.

5 But Jesus yet answered nothing ; so that Pilate marvelled.

LUKE.

2 And they began to accuse him, saying, We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a King.

3 And Pilate asked him, saying, Art thou the King of the Jews ? And he answered him and said, Thou sayest it.

4 Then said Pilate to the chief priests and to the people, I find no fault in this man.

5 And they were the more fierce, saying, He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry, beginning from Galilee to this place.

6 When Pilate heard of Galilee, he asked whether the man were a Galilæan.

7 And as soon as he knew that he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction, he sent him to Herod, Who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time.

8 And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad : for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him ; and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him.

9 Then he questioned with him in many words ; but he answered him nothing.

10 And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him.

11 And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.

12 And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together : for before they were at enmity between themselves.

JOHN,

tered into the judgment hall again, and called Jesus, and said unto him, Art thou the King of the Jews ?

34 Jesus answered him, Sayest thou this thing of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me ?

35 Pilate answered, Am I a Jew ? Thine own nation and the chief priests have delivered thee unto me : what hast thou done ?

36 Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews : but now is my kingdom not from hence.

37 Pilate therefore said unto him, Art thou a king then ? Jesus answered, Thou sayest that I am a king. To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. Every one that is of the truth heareth my voice.

15 Now at THAT feast the governor was wont to release unto the people a prisoner, whom they would.

16 And they had then a notable prisoner, which lay bound, called Barabbas.

17 Therefore when they were gathered together, Pilate said unto them, Whom will ye that I release unto you? Barabbas, or Jesus which is called Christ?

18 For he knew that for envy they had delivered him.

19 When he was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him.

20 But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus.

21 The governor answered and said unto them, Whether of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas.

22 Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? THEY all say unto him, Let him be crucified.

23 And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more saying, Let him be crucified.

24 When Pilate saw that he could prevail nothing, but THAT rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed HIS hands

6 Now at THAT feast he released unto them one prisoner, whomsoever they desired.

7 And there was one named Barabbas, which lay bound with them that had made insurrection with him, who had committed murder in the insurrection.

8 And the multitude crying aloud began to desire HIM to do as he had ever done unto them.

9 But Pilate answered them, saying, Will ye that I release unto you the King of the Jews?

10 For he knew that the chief priests had delivered him for envy.

11 But the chief priests moved the people, that he should rather release Barabbas unto them.

12 And Pilate answered and said again unto them, What will ye then that I shall do unto HIM whom ye call the King of the Jews?

13 And they cried out again, Crucify him.

14 Then Pilate said unto them, Why what evil hath he done?

And they cried out the more exceedingly, Crucify him.

13 And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people,

14 Said unto them, Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people: and, behold, I, having examined HIM before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:

15 No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him.

16 I will therefore chastise him, and release HIM.

17 (For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast.)

18 And they cried out all at once, saying, Away with this MAN, and release unto us Barabbas:

19 (Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison.)

20 Pilate therefore, willing to release Jesus spake again to them.

21 But they cried, saying, Crucify HIM, crucify him.

22 And he said unto them the third time, Why, what evil hath he done? I have found no cause of death in him: I will therefore chastise him, and let him go.

23 And they were instant with loud voices, requiring that he might be crucified. And the more voices of them and of the chief priests prevailed.

24 And Pilate gave forth the sentence that it should be as they required.

38 Pilate saith unto him, What is truth? and, when he had said this, he went out again unto the Jews, and saith unto them, I find in him no fault AT ALL.

39 But ye have a custom, that I should release unto you one at the passover: will ye therefore that I release unto you the King of the Jews?

40 Then cried they all again, saying, Not this man, but Barabbas. Now Barabbas was a robber.

CHAPTER XIX.

Then Jesus therefore took Jesus, and scourged HIM.

2 And the soldiers platted a crown of thorns, and put it on his head, and they put on him a purple robe, 3 And said, Hail, King of the Jews! and they smote him with their hands.

4 Pilate therefore went forth again, and saith unto them, Behold him! I bring him forth to you, that ye may know that I find no fault in him.

5 Then came Jesus forth, wearing the crown of thorns, and the purple robe. And PILATE saith unto them, Behold the man!

6 When the chief priests therefore and officers saw him, they cried out, saying, Crucify HIM, crucify HIM.

before the multitude, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just person : see ye to IT.

25 Then answered all the people, and said, His blood BE on us, and on our children.

26 Then released he Barabbas unto them : and when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered HIM to be crucified.

27 Then the soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the common hall, and gathered unto him the whole band of SOLDIERS.

28 And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe.

29 And when they had platted a crown of thorns, they put IT upon his head, and a reed in his right hand : and they bowed the knee before him, and mocked him, saying, Hail, King of the Jews !

30 And they spit upon him, and took the reed, and smote him on the head.

15 And so Pilate, willing to content the people, released Barabbas unto them, and delivered Jesus, when he had scourged HIM, to be crucified.

16 And the soldiers led him away into the hall, called Prætorium ; and they call together the whole band.

17 And they clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it about his HEAD,

18 And began to salute him, Hail, King of the Jews !

19 And they smote him on the head with a reed, and did spit upon him, and bowing THEIR knees worshipped him.

31 And after that they had mocked him, they took the robe off from him, and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify HIM.

20 And when they had mocked him, they took off the purple from him, and put his own clothes on him, and led him out to crucify him.

25 And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they had desired ; but he delivered Jesus to their will.

Pilate saith unto them, Take ye him, and crucify HIM : for I find no fault in him.

7 The Jews answered him, We have a law, and by our law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.

8 When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he was the more afraid ;

9 And went again into the judgment hall, and saith unto Jesus, Whence art thou ? But Jesus gave him no answer.

10 Then saith Pilate unto him, Speakest thou not unto me ? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee and have power to release thee ?

11 Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power AT ALL against me, except it were given thee from above : therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.

12 And from thenceforth Pilate sought to release him : but the Jews cried out, saying, If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend : whosoever maketh himself a king speaketh against Cæsar.

13 When Pilate therefore heard that saying, he brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha.

14 And it was the preparation of passover and about the sixth hour : and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King !

15 But they cried out, Away with HIM, away with HIM crucify him. Pilate, saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King ? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Cæsar.

16 Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified.

That the particulars of this trial are of a legendary character, and will not bear a close examination, must be evident to all who are acquainted with Roman history. It is well known that some years before the crucifixion of our Lord, Judæa had been taken possession of by the Romans, reduced to the form of a province, and was governed by a procurator. We learn from John, 18, 31, in the fourth column of the foregoing harmony, that the Jews had no longer the power of life and death; which supplies the reason why it was necessary to bring Jesus before Pilate's tribunal. That he was so brought before the Roman procurator, is testified by all the evangelists; but there lies at the outset a discrepancy between John and the other three, as to the place in which this trial was held. For Matthew, Mark, and Luke, all assert that Jesus stood before the governor, and was there accused of many things by the chief priests and elders. But this could hardly be done if the priests and elders remained without and "went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover." St John, who tells us this, adapts the circumstances of the trial to this beginning of it, and makes Pilate go backward and forward, out from the judgment hall to the people, and again in from the people to examine Jesus further. This is said to have happened three times, according to saint John, but nothing of the kind is told by the other evangelists; which causes great perplexity to the mind in forming a true estimate of this remarkable trial. Perhaps there is no nation in the world, however humble, in which the public administration of justice would be rendered so undignified, as that the chief magistrate should quit the judgment seat in the trial of a public criminal, and, in a question of life and death, go backwards and forwards between the accuser and the prisoner, that he might hear what they had to plead. It may be said without hesitation that no Roman governor ever condescended to an act which he would deem so derogatory to his rank and dignity. The writer of the fourth gospel was no doubt embarrassed by the connection between Christ's death and the Jewish passover; and being aware that in

his own previous narrative, he had not identified the Last Supper with the paschal feast, he naturally supposed that it was still to come, in which case the Jewish rulers must not disqualify themselves from partaking of it by immediate contact even with the court of the governor. Whether any traditions had already been embodied into this form, out of which the fourth gospel, was compiled, is now uncertain, but this is not unlikely. We may therefore set aside this peculiar feature of St John's gospel and suppose, with the other three, that accusers and accused stood before the governor.

2. We must next set aside another incident mentioned by Luke alone, Pilate's sending Jesus to Herod, not because it would be incompatible with Roman customs—on the contrary it was always agreeable to them that the allied kings should administer justice to their own subjects—but because it is related under many improbable circumstances by Luke, and related by him alone, and because by admitting it as so related, we should crowd too many events into the brief space of time which elapsed between the dawn of day, and the crucifixion. That so singular an incident as the reference of a state prisoner to another tribunal, should have escaped the notice of three out of four contemporary writers, is most significant, and this significancy is increased by the fact that none of their narratives present any break into which the omitted circumstance might be introduced. It is certain that they omitted it because they knew nothing about it. But if it had happened, they could not fail to know it, or, writing by inspiration, they could not but have been inspired with the knowledge of such an important incident. Mark, at all events, ought to have known it by natural means; for we are told that he wrote what he had heard from saint Peter, who was present in the high priest's palace, and no doubt followed his master into the Roman prætorium.

The most improbable circumstance about it is that Herod, a king, “with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to

Pilate." It is inconceivable that a man of rank should condescend to such degrading conduct, and would be hard to believe, even if it were recorded by *all* the evangelists. But as it is related by *only one*, we are driven to look round for a solution of so patent a difficulty; and a solution at once presents itself in the equally remarkable fact, that this mockery of Jesus is related to have happened at four different times—first, by the servants of the high priest over night (*Luke* 22, 63): secondly, by Herod (*Luke* 23, 11): thirdly, by the Roman soldiers before the warrant of crucifixion (*John* 19, 2): and fourthly by the same after the warrant was issued (*Matt.* 27, 27: *Mark* 15, 17). We cannot resist the feeling that one circumstance of this nature has here been multiplied into four. The probability is that Jesus was only once mocked—not by Herod who really wished to see Jesus, nor by the Roman soldiers, for that would have been unworthy of their magnanimous chivalry, but by the servants of the chief priests, who were perhaps pleased with the opportunity of taunting him who had so often with his truthful irony taunted and baffled their masters.

That Jesus should have been sent to Herod at so early an hour in the morning, is inconceivable; and the multitude of events crowded into so small a space of time throws great improbability on this particular—for we learn from *Mark* 15, 25, that Christ was crucified immediately after the trial, at nine o'clock in the morning.

3. A third doubt, with respect to the details of Christ's trial before Pilate, arises from the discordant statements of the evangelists about his scourging Jesus. It is well known that Roman criminals condemned to death were scourged, *virgis cæsi*, before execution. That Jesus was so dealt with, we need not doubt, though only Matthew and Mark say so—"when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified." But Luke, who does not actually say that Jesus was eventually scourged, makes Pilate propose to the Jewish people that he should release, i. e. acquit Jesus, having first scourged him—"chastise him and let him go." But this would have been a flagrant act of injustice, not only according to the Roman but every human code of law or right. A

Roman criminal, like an English criminal, was either found guilty, or innocent. If guilty, he was scourged and executed, but if innocent, he suffered neither. Now all the four evangelists agree that Pilate declared Jesus to be innocent—"I find no fault in him." We must therefore look for an explanation of this discordancy between the evangelists, in the simplicity of the early Christians and their want of knowledge of the world. If Pilate had been fully convinced of Christ's innocence, he would probably not have condemned him, though it may be reasonably admitted that he was not unwilling to gratify the Jewish authorities, and therefore perhaps to look at the charges brought against the prisoner in a Jewish and not a Roman point of view.

4. The proceedings related to have taken place at the trial must be much qualified before they can be accepted as historical. The questions asked of Jesus have evidently assumed the irregular character likely to have been given them by the Christians talking over such matters in later times, and altogether ignorant of the formality belonging to a court of justice. In particular, the question "What hast thou done?"—asking the prisoner to state his own offence and to convict himself—reminds one rather of a father's expostulation with his son, or of a master's castigation of his pupil than of a trial in a court of justice by the governor of a large and important province, conducted according to the laws of the greatest people that ever yet existed upon the earth.

5. Lastly ; there is a want of uniformity with respect to the custom pleaded by Pilate, of releasing one prisoner, and sacrificing another, on behalf of the people. This custom is nowhere mentioned by any historian, sacred or profane ; and it may be conjectured that the confused manner in which it is alluded to by the evangelists is a proof there was no very clear idea of its meaning or application even in their time. All the four tell us that it was

MATT 27, 32—66.

32 And as they came out, they found a man of Cyrene, Simon by name : him they compelled to bear his cross.

MARK 15, 21—47.

21 And they compel one Simon a Cyrenian, who passed by, coming out of the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to bear his

customary for the governor to release unto them a prisoner whom they would; and Dr Hammond, in a note on Matthew 27, 15, says that “this *seems* not to have been the custom of the Jews, but introduced by the Roman governor as an act of grace, for the purpose of gaining popularity.” Yet in John 18, 39, Pilate says, “*Ye* have a custom that I should release unto you one at the pass-over &c.” As if the custom were a Jewish, not a Roman custom—and it *was* Jewish, not Roman, if it prevailed at all; for the whole of Roman history may be read in vain, without finding any notice of such a custom prevailing at any period of their existence. It may be suspected, indeed, from a passage in John, 11, 49—50, where Caiaphas counsels,

That it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people &c.
that some confusion has been made between an act of release and an act of sacrifice,—that the idea of offering up an innocent victim has been moulded by time into that of releasing a guilty one—a proceeding much more conducive, if not to the glory of God, yet to peace and good-will among men.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE CRUCIFIXION.

The execution of Jesus followed unusually soon after sentence was pronounced. At dawn of day, (about 6 o'clock, in the month of May of the year A. D. 30) he was brought before Pilate, and at 9 o'clock (the third hour, Mark, 15, 25) he was crucified. The account of it is found in all the four gospels.

LUKE 23, 26—56.

26 And as they led him away, they laid hold upon one Simon, a Cyrenian, coming out of the country,

JOHN 19, 16—

16 And they took Jesus and led him away.

17 And he, bearing his cross,

MATT.

33 And when they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull,

34 They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when he had tasted *thereof*, he would not drink.

35 And they crucified him, and parted his garments, casting lots: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.

36 And sitting down they watched him there;

37 And set up over his head his accusation written, THIS IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.

38 Then were there two thieves crucified with him, one on the right hand, and another on the left.

39 And they that passed by reviled him, wagging their heads,

40 And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest *it* in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.

41 Likewise also the chief priests mocking *him*, with the scribes and elders, said,

42 He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.

43 He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

44 The thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth.

45 Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour.

46 And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?

MARK

cross.

22 And they bring him unto the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of a skull.

23 And they gave him to drink wine mingled with myrrh: but he received *it* not.

24 And when they had crucified him, they parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take.

25 And it was the third hour, and they crucified him.

26 And the superscription of his accusation was written over, THE KING OF THE JEWS.

27 And with him they crucify two thieves; the one on his right hand, and the other on his left.

28 And the scripture was fulfilled, which saith, And he was numbered with the transgressors.

29 And they that passed by railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying, Ah, thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest *it* in three days,

30 Save thyself, and come down from the cross.

31 Likewise also the chief priests mocking said among themselves with the scribes, He saved others; himself he cannot save.

32 Let Christ the King of Israel descend now from the cross, that we may see and believe. And they that were crucified with him reviled him.

33 And when the sixth hour was come, there was darkness over the whole land until the ninth hour.

34 And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

35 And some of them that stood by, when they heard *it*, said, Behold, he calleth Elias.

36 And one ran and filled a sponge full of vinegar, and put *it* on

LUKE

and on him they laid the cross, that he might bear *it* after Jesus.

27 And there followed him a great company of people, and of women, which also bewailed and lamented him.

28 But Jesus turning unto them said, Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children.

29 For, behold, the days are coming, in the which they shall say, Blessed *are* the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck.

30 Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.

31 For if they do these things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?

32 And there were also two other, malefactors, led with him to be put to death.

33 And when they were come to the place, which is called Calvary, there they crucified him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.

34 Then said Jesus, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do. And they parted his raiment, and cast lots.

35 And the people stood beholding. And the rulers also with them derided *him*, saying, He saved others; let him save himself, if he be Christ, the chosen of God.

36 And the soldiers also mocked him, coming to him, and offering him vinegar,

37 And saying, If thou be the king of the Jews, save thyself.

38 And a superscription also was written over him in letters of Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, **THIS IS THE KING OF THE JEWS.**

39 And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us.

JOHN

went forth into a place called *the place of a skull*, which is called in the Hebrew *Golgotha*:

18 Where they crucified *him*, and two other with him, on either side one, and Jesus in the midst.

19 And Pilate wrote a title, and put *it* on the cross. And the writing was, **JESUS OF NAZARETH THE KING OF THE JEWS.**

20 This title then read many of the Jews: for the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin.

21 Then said the chief priests of the Jews to Pilate, Write not, The King of the Jews; but that he said, I am King of the Jews.

22 Pilate answered, What I have written I have written.

23 Then the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took his garments, and made four parts, to every soldier a part, and also *his* coat: now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.

24 They said therefore among themselves, Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, They parted my raiment among them, and for my vesture they did cast lots. These things therefore the soldiers did.

25 Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the *wife* of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

26 When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son!

27 Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own *home*.

28 After this, Jesus knowing that all things were now accomplished, that the scripture might be fulfilled,

MATT.

that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

47 Some of them that stood there, when they heard *that*, said, *This man calleth for Elias.*

48 And straightway one of them ran and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.

49 The rest said, Let be, let us see whether Elias will come to save him.

50 Jesus, when he had cried again with a loud voice, yielded up the ghost.

51 And, behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom; and the earth did quake, and the rocks rent;

52 And the graves were opened; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose,

53 And came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.

54 Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earthquake, and those things that were done, they feared greatly, saying, Truly this was the Son of God.

55 And many women were there beholding afar off, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him:

56 Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children.

57 When the even was come, there came a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, who also himself was Jesus's disciple:

58 He went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus. Then Pilate commanded the body to be delivered.

59 And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth.

MARK

a reed, and gave him to drink, saying, Let alone; let us see whether Elias will come to take him down.

37 And Jesus cried with a loud voice, and gave up the ghost.

38 And the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom.

39 And when the centurion, which stood over against him, saw that he so cried out, and gave up the ghost, he said, Truly this man was the Son of God.

40 There were also women looking on afar off: among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less and of Joses, and Salome;

41 (Who also, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered unto him;) and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem.

42 And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the sabbath,

43 Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.

44 And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead.

45 And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.

46 And he bought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a se-

LUKE

40 But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation?

41 And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss.

42 And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.

43 And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise.

44 And it was about the sixth hour, and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour.

45 And the sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst.

46 And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he gave up the ghost.

47 Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man.

48 And all the people that came together to that sight, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts, and returned.

49 And all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding these things.

50 And behold, *there was a man named Joseph, a counsellor; and he was a good man, and a just:*

51 (*The same had not consented to the counsel and deed of them: he was of Arimathæa, a city of the Jews: who also himself waited for the kingdom of God.*)

52 This *man* went unto Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus.

53 And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a sepulchre that was hewn in stone,

JOHN

saith, I thirst.

29 Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put *it* upon hyssop, and put *it* to his mouth.

30 When Jesus therefore had received the vinegar, he said, It is finished: and he bowed his head, and gave up the ghost.

31 The Jews therefore, because it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain upon the cross on the sabbath day, (for that sabbath day was an high day,) besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and *that* they might be taken away.

32 Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other which was crucified with him.

33 But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they brake not his legs:

34 But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water.

35 And he that saw *it* bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe.

36 For these things were done, that the scripture should be fulfilled, A bone of him shall not be broken.

37 And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced.

38 And after this Joseph of Arimathæa, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave *him* leave. He came therefore, and took the body of Jesus.

39 And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about an hundred pound *weight*.

40 Then took they the body of

MATT.

60 And laid it in his own new tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock : and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed.

61 And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.

62 Now the next day, that followed the day of the preparation, the chief priests and Pharisees came together unto Pilate,

63 Saying, Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again.

64 Command therefore that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead : so the last error shall be worse than the first.

65 Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch : go your way, make *it* as sure as ye can.

66 So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch.

MARK

pulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre.

47 And Mary Magdalene and Mary *the mother* of Joses beheld where he was laid.

In comparing these four narratives, we observe that St John, as usual, stands aloof from the other three, occasionally making us acquainted with facts which they have omitted, as often omitting circumstances which they have related, and frequently relating the same facts in a manner so contradictory to theirs, that no other argument is needful to prove his gospel to be a distinct work, and not, as is commonly supposed, supplementary to the other three.

There are seven points of divergency in the foregoing harmony ; some of which are irreconcilable even by the widest conjecture, whilst all militate against the contemporary character of the writings.

1. In the first place St John says that Jesus bore his own cross to the place of execution, called in Hebrew Golgotha : but Matthew, Mark, and Luke relate that the soldiers laid hold of one

LUKE

wherein never man before was laid.

54 And that day was the preparation, and the sabbath drew on.

55 And the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid.

56 And they returned, and prepared spices and ointments; and rested the sabbath day according to the commandment.

JOHN

Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.

41 Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid.

42 There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day, for the sepulchre was nigh at hand.

Simon a Cyrenian, who was accidentally passing by, and compelled him to carry the cross. The account of John is the most likely to be true; for it was part of the Roman punishment of crucifixion that the criminal should bear his own cross. The opposite story, though told by three writers, is also less likely, because of the injustice done to Simon an innocent passer-by—for it was not a period of revolution among the Jews, when such an outrage might happen, but of regular lawful government. Some of the German commentators have supposed that the designation of Simon, "father of Alexander and Rufus," added by Mark, was intended to refer to two persons known in after times as "Alexander the coppersmith" and "Rufus chosen in the Lord" [see Acts 19, 33: Rom. 16, 13: 1 Tim. 1, 20: and 2 Tim. 4, 14]. Others have imagined that the services of Simon were needful, in consequence of our Lord having fainted beneath the weight of the cross. Both of these ideas are conjectural. The absurd legend, of much later growth, that the Cyrenian was thrown in the way, by Providence, and was crucified instead of Jesus, need not arrest our attention one moment.

2. A very serious discrepancy between John and the other three evangelists concerns the time of the day at which Christ was first tried before Pilate and then crucified. St John says, 19, 14, that it was "about the sixth hour," that is 12 o'clock at noon, when Pilate, in the course of the trial, said "Behold your king." But St Mark says, 15, 25, "it was the third hour," that is, 9

o'clock in the morning, when "they crucified him." Thus by blending of these two authorities we are led to the inference that he was crucified three hours before he was condemned ! An attempt has been made to show that John followed a different notation of time from the other three, but no conjectural arrangement of the day will harmonize with the interval of three hours from the 3d hour to the 6th hour. Besides which, there is not the slightest evidence that John has followed a different arrangement of time from the others. If he did so, writing under inspiration, it is remarkable that we should, with such a guide, be left in ignorance on a point of so much importance, such as has altogether vitiated the authority of many other writings less important than the gospels. The more probable way of reconciling the two statements, is to reject one of them. We must prefer the account of St John, because it fixes on a more reasonable time for the condemnation of Jesus, 12 o'clock at noon, than the early hour before 9 o'clock in the morning, as we read in the gospel of St Mark.

3. It is said by all the evangelists that a draught of liquor was given to Jesus by those who were present at the crucifixion ; but the description of this fact is so different in the four, that it is difficult to discover the real nature of the incident.

First, Matthew tells us that, before the crucifixion, the soldiers gave him *vinegar* to drink, mingled with *gall* ; and that, afterwards about the ninth hour (3 o'clock) when he cried *Eli, Eli &c.* one of the by-standers "ran and took a sponge, and filled it with vinegar, and put it on a reed and gave him to drink."

With this account Mark's agrees in the main, but with two divergencies : instead of *vinegar* and *gall*, it now is *wine* and *myrrh* : and again, when he who ran and got the sponge, gives Jesus to drink a second time, in Matthew it is "the rest" of the by-standers who say in ridicule, "Let him alone, let us see whether Elias will come to save him," but in Mark, it is the man himself who says it, which is absurd. Again ; in Luke, we hear nothing of the myrrh or gall mingled with the vinegar ; the

draught is offered once only and then in mockery, whereas in Matthew and Mark, neither of the two draughts seems to have been offered in a mocking spirit.

Thirdly ; in John, it is said that the vinegar was mingled neither with *gall* nor *myrrh*, but with *hyssop*, and that it was offered at the request of Jesus himself, who exclaimed " I thirst."

These discordancies are of remarkably little importance to the general character of the gospel history, if we are allowed to explain them reasonably ; but if we regard all the four as distinct inspirations, the merest child will ask, why was *hyssop* inspired to one evangelist, and *myrrh* or *gall* to the others ? Why also did the draught flow from the pen of Matthew as given seriously, whilst in Luke it was offered in mockery ? We may answer that neither of the four writers seems to have had an exact idea of the occurrence, but each wrote down faithfully what had come to him by tradition. Neither of them seems to have been aware that the vinegar,—small sour wine, *vin du pays*—mingled with either gall, myrrh, or hyssop, before it was given to Jesus, was meant in kindness to deaden the pain of crucifixion, and perhaps, afterwards, presented an aspect of mockery to those, who, a hundred and fifty years later, received what was told them by their elders, without having the means of testing the history accurately for themselves.

4. The words of Christ, as he was hanging on the cross, are variously reported by the four evangelists, and in particular his last exclamation immediately before his death. The dying words of eminent individuals are always of interest and have often been recorded in history ; but in hardly one case out of a hundred is there any variation in the accounts about the exact words spoken. In the case of our Lord, however, it is impossible to reconcile the divergent reports of his last words upon the cross. With the exception that Matthew and Mark agree in making him speak twice only, first, " Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," and then, his last cry, before he died, the other two evangelists differ from both of these, and, multiplying the number of Christ's speeches, differ wholly

from one another. For instance, Luke has nothing of *Eli, eli, lama sabachthani*, but tells us of a dialogue between Christ and the thieves; after which he says that Jesus cried with a loud voice, and, having exclaimed "Into thy hands I commend my spirit," gave up the ghost. St John, however, knows nothing of all this, but in its place has a dialogue with Christ's mother, and with John—"Woman, behold thy son!" "Behold thy mother!" after which he exclaims, "I thirst," and then with the words "It is finished!" bows his head and gives up the ghost. Now in these St John and St Luke positively contradict one another: the one says, the last words were "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit"; the other says the words were "It is finished." The difference is unimportant—perhaps both cries were uttered, and we might not wonder at two writers having described the matter differently, if it were not generally believed that both of those writers drew their history not from human sources but from inspiration.

5. A fifth variation between the evangelists is found in their account of the two thieves crucified with Jesus. In Matthew they "cast the same in his teeth"; in Mark they "revile him": but in Luke, it is only one of the malefactors that reviles Christ, the other repents, and confessing his sins, is promised immediate happiness with Christ in paradise. The only reasonable explanation of this difference is, that the first two evangelists did not know of the exact particulars, recorded more at length by Luke.

6. The inscription, placed by Pilate upon the cross, occurs in four different forms, according to the gospel in which it is found. The four forms are these.

This is Jesus the king of the Jews. MATT.

The king of the Jews. MARK.

This is the king of the Jews. LUKE.

Jesus of Nazareth the king of the Jews. JOHN.

As the value of inscriptions depends wholly upon their being

faithfully and exactly copied, it is evident that the inscription now under consideration cannot be relied on for accuracy, but has been handed down in a popular form by divers traditions, each of which has been adopted by one or other of the four evangelists.

7. Neither can we form a very accurate idea of the mode in which the soldiers cast lots for Christ's clothing, seeing that all the accounts of it are vague and discordant.

Matthew describes the process as if he thought they cast lots on all Christ's garments alike—"they parted his garments, casting lots."

Mark, following the same idea, explains it more fully, "parted his garments, casting lots upon them, what every man should take."

Luke uses the very general expression—"parted his garments, and cast lots."

The general notion which these terms convey is clearly to the effect that the whole of Christ's clothing was divided into portions, and lots were then drawn, to determine what portion each soldier should take. This interpretation is not weakened by Matthew's applying a prophecy from the old Testament to this subject, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots (*Ps.* 22, 18)": for there is a distinction made in our translation between *garments* and *vesture*, where there is no distinction in the original Greek, *ἱμάτια* and *ἱματισμός*. Indeed, even in English, it would be difficult to point out a real difference between *garments* and *vesture*. The truth is that in the connective *and* lies the cause of the confusion. We should read, "*even* upon my vesture did they cast lots, "and we again come to the same conclusion that all the articles of Christ's clothing were distributed by lot among the soldiers.

We turn then to the fourth gospel, where we find a much more detailed account of the matter. It appears from John that there were four soldiers, and that the clothes were divided into four parts, one of which in consequence was given without lot to each. But the tunic, *χιτὼν*—coat in our testaments—being of a pecu-

liar make, woven in one piece without seam throughout, was not cut into four parts, but reserved as a fifth portion, for which the four soldiers cast lots separately. It is also to be observed that the same text from the Old Testament is quoted by John in illustrating this story, which has been already named as quoted by St Matthew. A thought here comes into the mind, which seems to explain the whole. Did not St John's narrative grow out of the Greek version of the supposed prophesy, in which there is a fanciful distinction between *ἱμάτια* garments and *ἱματισμός* vesture? It is known that popular prophecies tend to bring on their own fulfilment. If it was so here, which looks in every way probable, the idea of the lot having been applied to the *tunic* or seamless-coat, has gradually grown out of the necessity of harmonizing the incident with the prophecy of it found in the Book of Psalms.

7. We come to the seventh and last point of difference between the four gospels concerning the *lookers on* or *by-standers* who were present at the consummation of Christ's marvellous career.

We learn from Matthew that there were present, 1. The centurion and Roman soldiers. 2. The chief priests, scribes and elders, who mocked him saying, "He saved others &c." 3. Many "women, which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him : among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children." Two of these women, Mary Magdalene and the other Mary, followed the body to the sepulchre, and sat down over against the sepulchre.

In Mark's gospel, instead of "the mother of Zebedee's children" is the more particular definition of "Salome," which is supposed to be the name of the same person.

In Luke's gospel, are some additional circumstances. We read that "a great company of people followed him," and "of women, which also bewailed and lamented him." It was to these that Jesus turned and uttered that beautiful address, "Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children"—and if he had ended there, the picture would have been complete, but Luke makes him add, if not without meaning,

yet certainly so as to weaken the force of the preceding apostrophe, some parts of an address which he had delivered some time before (see Luke 21, 23), and some words which occur almost verbatim in the Septuagint version of the prophet Hosea (10,8).

It appears also from verse 48, that all his acquaintance, and the women that followed him from Galilee, stood afar off, beholding his crucifixion.

Between these particulars, recorded by Matthew, Mark and Luke, and John, there is not a perfect agreement, for the latter says that the women who followed Christ were his mother's sister the *wife* of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene, and that they stood "by the cross," and not "afar off," as in Luke's gospel. Besides these women, John also the beloved disciple was present, and received his master's parting admonition to take charge of his bereaved mother.

The list of women does not coincide with that given by the other evangelists: they say nothing of Mary Christ's mother,—a remarkable omission, which alone is enough to prove the traditional character of the writings. John moreover does not mention Salome, the mother of Zebedee's children, and instead of Mary the mother of James and Joses, he has Mary the wife of Cleophas. It is not certain that these designations point to the same person; for, at Matthew 10, 3, we find that James, commonly called the Less, was the son, not of Cleophas, but of Alpheus; and there is no proof that Alpheus and Cleophas were the same person, as some of our commentators have gratuitously assumed. An additional difficulty is occasioned by the mention of Christ's 'mother's sister' being present. The words are so closely connected with "Mary the wife of Cleophas," that they are generally thought to describe the same person. If so, two sisters, Christ's mother and his aunt, bore the same name, Mary—a most remarkable and improbable circumstance in those days, when persons bore only one proper name, and likely to result in great family confusion.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST AND THE WITNESSES THEREOF.

We have seen in the preceding chapters that the exact order of time and other particulars regarding the last supper of our Lord with his disciples and the events incidental to his seizure, trial, and crucifixion, cannot now be clearly ascertained. The interval, however, of a Jewish sabbath, or day of rest, when no one stirred abroad, and consequently nothing happened to embroil further the course of the history, gives us a fresh point for starting, and we find that all the four evangelists present a tolerable agreement as to the momentous occurrences which next follow. The expression a 'tolerable agreement' implies that some critics object to the terms employed by the several gospel-writers to describe the point of time when the scene re-opens with a visit made by certain women to the tomb of Jesus. Matthew relates that "it was at the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week," and St John tells us that it was early, when it was yet dark": but these terms, though apparently contradictory, are yet not so, for who does not know that the dawn begins to shew itself

MATT. 28, 1—15.

In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first *day* of the week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre.

2 And, behold, there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and

MARK 16, 1—11.

And when the sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the *mother* of James, and Salome, had bought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint him.

2 And very early in the morning the first *day* of the week, they came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun.

3 And they said among themselves, Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the sepulchre?

faintly in the remote east, whilst the face of the heaven is still dark, though not perhaps densely dark? Strictly speaking, also, the end of the sabbath means Saturday evening, after six o'clock; but the qualifying words, "as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week," shew plainly that St Matthew was speaking not of the evening, but of the morning after the sabbath. The chief difficulty which attends the comparison of the four narratives is the observation of St Mark, "They came unto the sepulchre at the rising of the sun." If the sun were just rising, it could not be yet dark, though probably the interval between the time of the women's setting out from home and their arrival at the sepulchre, in latitudes where there is not much twilight, may have been long enough to account for the different descriptions used by the evangelists. After all, it appears unnecessary to harmonize statements which are not very far apart from one another; they point out, within an hour or two probably, the time at which the women named by the evangelists set out on a visit to Christ's tomb very early on the Sunday morning after his crucifixion.

Here however their agreement ends, and we find a series of facts stated by each in so different a manner, that it is impossible to harmonize them exactly.

LUKE 24, 1—12.

Now upon the first *day* of the week, very early in the morning, they came unto the sepulchre, bringing the spices which they had prepared, and certain *others* with them.

2 And they found the stone rolled away from the sepulchre.

3 And they entered in, and found not the body of the Lord Jesus.

JOHN 20, 1—18.

The first *day* of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre,

and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre.

MATT.

came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it.

3 His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow :

4 And for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men.

5 And the angel answered and said unto the women, Fear not ye : for I know that ye seek Jesus, which was crucified.

6 He is not here : for he is risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay.

7 And go quickly, and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead ; and, behold, he goeth before you into Galilee ; there shall ye see him : lo, I have told you.

8 And they departed quickly from the sepulchre with fear and great joy ; and did run to bring his disciples word.

9 And as they went to tell his disciples, behold, Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held him by the feet, and worshipped him.

10 Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid : go tell my brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see me.

11 Now when they were going, behold, some of the watch came into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests all the things that were done.

12 And when they were assembled with the elders, and had taken counsel, they gave large money unto the soldiers,

13 Saying, Say ye, His disciples came by night, and stole him away while we slept.

14 And if this come to the governor's ears, we will persuade him, and secure you.

15 So they took the money, and did as they were taught : and this saying is commonly reported among the Jews until this day.

MARK

4 And when they looked, they saw that the stone was rolled away, for it was very great :

5 And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment ; and they were affrighted.

6 And he saith unto them, Be not affrighted : Ye seek Jesus of Nazareth, which was crucified ; he is risen ; he is not here : behold the place where they laid him.

7 But go your way, tell his disciples and Peter that he goeth before you into Galilee : there shall ye see him, as he said unto you.

8 And they went out quickly, and fled from the sepulchre ; for they trembled and were amazed : neither said they any thing to any man ; for they were afraid.

9 Now when *Jesus* was risen early the first *day* of the week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven devils.

10 And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.

11 And they, when they had heard that he was alive, and had been seen of her, believed not.

LUKE

JOHN

4 And it came to pass, as they were much perplexed thereabout, behold, two men stood by them in shining garments:

5 And as they were afraid, and bowed down *their* faces to the earth, they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead?

6 He is not here, but is risen: remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee,

7 Saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again.

8 And they remembered his words,

9 And returned from the sepulchre, and told all these things unto the eleven, and to all the rest.

10 It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary *the mother of Jaimes*, and other *women that were* with them, which told these things unto the apostles.

11 And their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.

12 Then arose Peter, and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass.

2 Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple, whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him.

3 Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre.

So they ran both together: and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre.

5 And he stooping down, *and looking in*, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in.

6 Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie.

JOHN

7 And the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself.

8 Then went in also that other disciple, which come first to the sepulchre, and he saw, and believed,

9 For as yet they knew not the scripture, that he must rise again from the dead.

10 Then the disciples went away again unto their own home.

11 But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, *and looked* into the sepulchre,

12 And seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain.

13 And they say unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? She saith unto them, Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.

14 And when she had thus said, she turned herself back, and saw Jesus standing, and knew not that it was Jesus.

15 Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be the gardner, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.

16 Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turned herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni; which is to say, Master.

17 Jesus saith unto her, Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father: but go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and *to my God, and your God.*

18 Mary Magdalene came and told the disciples that she had seen the Lord, and *that* he had spoken these things unto her.

1. According to St Matthew, ‘Mary Magdalene and the other Mary’ are the women who go to see the sepulchre: Mark has three names, ‘Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James, and Salome’: according to Luke (*verse 10*), “It was Mary Magdalene, and Joanna, and Mary *the mother of* James, and other women *that were* with them, which told these things unto the apostles”: lastly St John names ‘Mary Magdalene’ only as coming to the sepulchre at that early hour. The explanation given by the harmonists and commentators is that each writer has named such women only as suited his peculiar object. But what specific object could this be? There is no ground for believing that the four evangelists wrote for a separate and especial purpose or design: this is the conjecture of those who find it convenient to have such a basis on which to rest other conclusions equally

conjectural. It is more reasonable to suppose that each writer recorded what he had been told, and that, as tradition varied, so also is there a variation in their accounts. It is true that John was the only disciple who could claim to have been an eye-witness, and he, at least, leaves no room for doubting that Mary Magdalene went alone to the tomb. No sooner did she see that it was empty than she ran off—a most natural thing to do if she was alone, but equally unnatural if any other woman was in her company. This feature of St John's gospel shews that his account at least cannot be harmonized with the others, though they may perhaps, even as far as this point is concerned, be brought into something like a conventional agreement.

2. But the object which the men had in view by making so early a visit to the tomb, involves a second discrepancy, between Matthew and John, who take one view of the matter, and Mark and Luke, who take the other. The first and fourth evangelists allege no other motive on the part of the women than the wish, which was exceedingly natural and praiseworthy, of seeing again the tomb of their beloved benefactor. But Mark and Luke attribute to them the wish to embalm the body of Jesus. We have no means of determining which of these motives was the real one, but, if it should be thought that Mark and Luke have stated the case correctly, it is remarkable that Matthew and John, both of whom were of the number of the twelve apostles, and the latter an eye-witness, should have omitted such a fact, whilst the other two evangelists, who were neither eye-witnesses nor apostles, should have added it. A certain degree of preference may perhaps be claimed for Matthew and John, on the ground, that Joseph of Arimathæa is said to have already embalmed the body before it was consigned to the tomb, but even this fact seems to be involved in as much difficulty as that which it is adduced to illustrate.

3. A third, and still more serious discrepancy is found in the different ways in which the appearance of the angels is recorded. Matthew mentions only *one angel*; who came down from heaven, and rolling away the stone from the door of the sepulchre sat

down upon it, outside the tomb;—all this, apparently, done in the presence of the two Maries at the moment of their arrival. Mark however relates, that they found the stone rolled away, and entering in, saw *a young man sitting on the right side*, clothed in a long white garment. St Luke relates, with Mark, that they found the stone rolled away, and entered in; where, as they were perplexed at not finding Christ's body, *two men stood by them in shining garments*. Lastly St John says that Mary Magdalene had run off to call Peter, and having returned in his company, had remained behind when he left the tomb, and then, on looking into the tomb, saw *two angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain*. It is plain that where the four narratives differ so totally, it is impossible to harmonize them, in any other way than by multiplying the vision of angels in a most surprising manner, and—as regards the writers—by supposing that they carefully closed their eyes to every thing except the very fact which they were relating, no matter how it might be surrounded by other incidents which in the eyes of another writer would give it a totally different character, and lead to a wholly different description. If we were called upon to determine the real nature of the appearances of the angels, as recorded in any other work, it might not be difficult to set aside all the divergencies that lie between the four narratives, and so to extract what remains as common to them all. By this abstraction, we should infer that Mary Magdalene, for certain, and perhaps also some other women in her company, went at an early hour to see the sepulchre of Jesus, and that, when they arrived there, an angel—perhaps two—appeared and told them that Jesus was already risen. This original and simple story, handed down by tradition, had grown, after a hundred years or more, into the four varied narratives which we find in the four gospels.

4. A fourth difference between the evangelists in their description of the same Sunday morning, concerns the visit of Peter to

the sepulchre. Here again, each writer has a different mode of viewing the matter.

According to St Matthew, the women, as instructed by the angel, go and tell the disciples that their master was risen from the dead, but nothing is said of a visit of Peter to the tomb.

In St Mark's gospel, the same turn is given to the account; but the words of the angel are "Go your way, tell his disciples *and Peter &c.*" Still the writer does not add that Peter went to the sepulchre to see with his own eyes what had happened.

It is in the third gospel that we first find a hint of this fact. It is there stated that the women reported what they had seen to the apostles who received their report as idle tales. "Then arose Peter and ran unto the sepulchre; and stooping down, he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves, and departed, wondering in himself at that which was come to pass." This visit, it will be observed, is still unconnected with that of Mary Magdalene, and later in point of time.

But in St John's gospel, the story receives several new features. Mary Magdalene, alone, runs and calls Peter, to whom John is added, and all three return to the tomb. Peter and John then depart, leaving Mary Magdalene alone; and all this precedes both the appearance of the angels to her and her announcement of Christ's resurrection to the whole body of the apostles. In deciding between the two, whilst, on the one hand, we bow to the supposed authority which John might claim as an eye-witness, yet, on the other hand, his account is less probable than that of the other evangelists, because it multiplies the visits, backwards and forwards, to and from the tomb; because it is less simple than the other accounts; and because it is not likely that Peter and John would have left Mary Magdalene alone weeping at the tomb.

5. A remarkable incident among those which occur at the sepulchre is the appearance of Christ himself to the women, as they leave the spot to fulfil the commands of the angel. In the relation of this occurrence, Mark is more concise than Matthew, but without any other points of difference. St John tells the story

in a very different way from St Matthew, partly because he represents Mary Magdalene as being alone. In the first gospel Jesus salutes them, and they at once know him. In St John, Mary does not know him, until he has emphatically called her by name. She even takes him for the gardener and asks him if he knows where the body of Jesus has been carried. This account has not an air of probability about it ; for it gives a low idea of Christ's personal appearance to mistake him for the gardener, and the interval of one day could not have produced forgetfulness in Mary's mind. The paleness produced by the death which his body had suffered would even have guided her mind to a recognition—not a forgetfulness of him. We must therefore choose the account which Matthew gives of this highly interesting interview.

But another objection lies against the exact accuracy of the words which were spoken by the angels, drawn from the appearance of Christ so speedily afterwards. St Matthew and St Mark represent the angel as bidding Mary tell his disciples that they should see Christ again in Galilee : and yet the words are hardly out of the angel's mouth, before Mary herself sees him there upon the spot, and all the disciples see him that same day in Jerusalem. We must suppose that the conversation between Mary and the angels was preserved a long time by tradition, and gradually assumed a different character, as it flowed, during a hundred years or more, into different channels.

6. It is not unworthy of enquiry why St Matthew alone should have related that the Jewish authorities sealed the stone and set a guard of Roman soldiers, who fled at the appearance of the angel who accosted Mary. That so remarkable a guarantee against fraud should have faded away, so as to be known to only one of the four writers of gospels, furnishes a strong probability that the gospels were not written by the apostles themselves, or by their contemporaries ; for they would certainly not have omitted to record such an occurrence.

CHAPTER XL.

CHRIST'S APPEARANCES TO HIS DISCIPLES.

On the day of Christ's resurrection, he is said by Mark and Luke to have shewn himself to two of his disciples, on the way to Emmaus. This was his first appearance to any of his disciples and is thus related.

MARK 16, 12—13.

12 After that he appeared in another form unto two of them, as they walked, and went into the country.

LUKE 24, 13—32.

13 And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem *about* threescore furlongs.

14 And they talked together of all these things which had happened.

15 And it came to pass, that, while they communed *together* and reasoned, Jesus himself drew near, and went with them.

16 But their eyes were holden that they should not know him.

17 And he said unto them, What manner of communications *are* these that ye have one to another, as ye walk, and are sad?

18 And the one of them, whose name was Cleophas, answering said unto him, Art thou only a stranger in Jerusalem, and hast not known the things which are come to pass there in these days?

19 And he said unto them, What things? And they said unto him, Concerning Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God, and all the people:

20 And how the chief priests and our rulers delivered him to be condemned to death, and have crucified him.

21 But we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel: and beside all this, to day is the third day since these things were done.

22 Yea, and certain women also of our company made us astonished, which were early at the sepulchre;

23 And when they found not his body, they came, saying, that they had also seen a vision of angels, which said that he was alive.

24 And certain of them which were with us went to the sepulchre, and found it even so as the women had said: but him they saw not.

25 Then he said unto them, O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken:

26 Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into his glory?

27 And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself.

28 And they drew nigh unto the village, whither they went: and he made as though he would have gone further.

29 But they constrained him, saying, Abide with us: for it is toward evening, and the day is far spent. And he went in to tarry with them.

30 And it came to pass as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed *it*, and brake, and gave to them

31 And their eyes were opened, and they said one to another, Did not our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the scriptures?

32 And they went and told *it* unto the residue: neither believed they them.

From Emmaus the scene shifts forthwith to Jerusalem: and the four narratives vary considerably about the events which follow. Matthew's account is the shortest—he knows nothing of the walk to Emmaus, and represents the eleven disciples as going direct to Galilee, where they receive Christ's final orders, and the gospel history is at an end.

MATT. 28, 16—20.

16 Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them.

17 And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted.

18 And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

19 Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:

20 Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, *even* unto the end of the world. Amen.

In Mark, also, the narrative is very short, but as he lays the scene principally at Jerusalem, his account will be best viewed in juxtaposition with the other two.

MARK, 16, 14—20.

14 Afterward he appeared unto the eleven as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

15 And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

16 He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be damned.

17 And these signs shall follow them that believe; In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues;

18 They shall take up ser-

LUKE 24, 33—53.

33 And they rose up the same hour, and returned to Jerusalem, and found the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them,

34 Saying, The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.

35 And they told what things were done in the way, and how he was known of them in breaking of bread.

36 And as they thus spake, Jesus himself stood in the midst of them, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

37 But they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.

38 And he said unto them, Why are ye troubled? and

JOHN 20, 19—21, 25.

19 Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

20 And when he had so said, he shewed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.

21 Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.

22 And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost:

perish; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.

40 And when he had thus shewed them his hands and his feet.

41 And while they yet believed not for joy, and wondered, he said unto them, Have ye here any meat?

42 And they gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb.

43 And he took it, and did eat before them.

44 And he said unto them, These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me.

45 Then opened he their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures,

46 And said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day:

47 And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

48 And ye are witnesses of these things.

49 And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem, until ye be endued with power from on high.

19 So then after the Lord had spoken unto them, he was received up into heaven, and sat on the right hand of God.

20 And they went forth, and preached every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following. Amen.

50 And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them.

51 And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven.

52 And they worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem with great joy:

53 And were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God. Amen.

23 Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.

24 But Thomas, one of the twelve, called Didymus, was not with them when Jesus came.

25 The other disciples therefore said unto him, We have seen the Lord. But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.

26 And after eight days again his disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

27 Then saith he to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side: and be not faithless, but believing.

28 And Thomas answered and said unto him, My Lord and my God.

29 Jesus saith unto him, Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.

30 And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book:

31 But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.

CHAPTER XXI.

After these things Jesus shewed himself again to the disciples at the sea of Tiberias; and on this wise shewed he himself.

2 There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathanael of Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee, and two other of his disciples.

3 Simon Peter saith unto them, I go a fishing. They say unto him, We also go with thee. They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing.

4 But when the morning was now come, Jesus stood on the shore: but the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

5 Then Jesus saith unto them, Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No.

6 And he said unto them, Cast the net on the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast therefore, and now they were not able to draw it for the multitude of fishes.

7 Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord. Now when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his fisher's coat unto him, (for he was naked,) and did cast himself into the sea.

8 And the other disciples came in a little ship; (for they were not far from land, but as it were two hundred cubits,) dragging the net with fishes.

9 As soon then as they were come to land, they saw a fire of coals there, and fish laid thereon, and bread.

10 Jesus saith unto them, Bring of the fish which ye have now caught.

11 Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to land full of great fishes, an hundred and fifty and three : and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken.

12 Jesus saith unto them, Come AND dine. And none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.

13 Jesus then cometh, and taketh bread, and giveth them, and fish likewise.

14 This is now the third time that Jesus shewed himself to his disciples, after that he was risen from the dead.

15 So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs.

16 He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord: thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

17 He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep.

18 Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry THEE whither thou wouldest not.

19 This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me.

20 Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee?

21 Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what SHALL this man do?

22 Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is THAT to thee? follow thou me.

23 Then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that that disciple should not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but, If I will that he tarry till I come, what IS THAT to thee?

24 This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true.

25 And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.

1. On the day of the resurrection, at even, as is agreed by Luke and John, though Mark's language *afterward* is more vague and general, Christ first showed himself to his disciples as they sat at meat. This indication proves that it was at that hour in the afternoon when it was customary to take the dinner or principal meal of the day. But here lies a want of agreement between Mark and Luke. The former, knowing nothing of the walk to Emmaus, and of Christ having already dined there with the two disciples, represents the first appearance of Christ as during the dinner at Jerusalem. But Luke, who has already described the meal at Emmaus, and made the two disciples return immediately to Jerusalem, (no doubt on foot—a journey of six miles) says nothing of the eleven being at dinner when Christ joins them. It is in vain to attempt to harmonize these accounts by the supposition of two meals. For this was altogether unusual, especially for men in a low rank of life, like the apostles. It remains therefore to suppose that one of the two accounts is inaccurate, though from the

want of sufficient facts it may be impossible to determine which of the two should be preferred.

2. The second difference lies between Matthew and Mark. Both record only one appearance of Christ to his disciples, but Matthew represents them as having first gone into Galilee, where they meet their master and receive his final instructions. Mark places this scene at Jerusalem, apparently on the evening of the day of the resurrection, and adds that immediately afterwards he was taken up into heaven.

3. A third view is suggested by the words of Luke—that after the exhortations given on the evening of the resurrection, Jesus led his disciples out to Bethany, where he bestowed a blessing upon them, and was immediately afterwards taken up into heaven. The disciples then return to Jerusalem and spend their time continually in the temple, praising and blessing God.

4. In St John's gospel, we read that on the evening of the resurrection Thomas, not being with the other ten, when Jesus appeared, entertained doubts, which were not dispelled until eight days afterwards when Christ again showed himself to the disciples. The history seems here to end with the observation that there were many other signs done by Jesus in the presence of his disciples, besides those that are "written in this book": but in chapter 21, a new series of events begins, the scene of which lies in Galilee, the *time*, uncertain; and the disciples, so far from frequenting the temple and praising God continually, have gone back to their usual haunts and occupations. Peter with six other of the disciples, "Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two others," go out fishing, and the next morning Jesus joins them standing on the shore: they take a meal together, and the scene closes as abruptly as before in the 20th chapter, and almost in the same words respecting the many other things that Jesus did over and above those the evangelist has related.

The ascension of Christ will be considered in a future chapter, in connexion with the new view of it, there to be presented,

from the Acts of the Apostles furnishing some new particulars, one of which is not in harmony with the gospel narrative.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE DEATH OF JUDAS, AND PURCHASE OF THE POTTER'S FIELD.

The repentance and death of Judas Iscariot are related by Matthew alone of the evangelists ; but in the 1st chapter of the Acts of the apostles is a different account of the same matter introduced into a speech of Peter to the apostles, when they elected Matthias to be their colleague in the place of Judas.

MATT. 27, 3—10.

3 Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders,

4 Saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, What is THAT to us? see thou TO THAT.

5 And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself.

6 And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, It is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood.

7 And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in.

8 Wherefore that field was called, the field of blood, unto this day.

9 Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value ;

10 And gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me.

ACTS 1, 16—19.

16 Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus.

17 For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry.

18 Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity : and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out.

19 And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem ; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aeldama, that is to say, The field of blood.

These extracts will not detain us long : there are three points to be noticed.

1. Matthew says that the chief priests bought the field with the thirty pieces of silver : but Peter says that Judas himself was the purchaser.

2. Matthew relates that Judas hanged himself in remorse immediately after the crucifixion of Jesus : Peter knows nothing of his remorse ; on the contrary he shows that Judas spent the money, no doubt, to gratify his own taste, and died afterwards,

as if by an accident, or a judgment of Providence, certainly not by his own hand. The supposition that he hanged himself over a precipice, and fell by reason of the rope breaking, is too childish to merit notice.

3. The prophesy which, according to Matthew, was fulfilled by the history of Judas, is very different in the Old Testament from what it appears in the New. The prophet Zechariah, speaking of himself and his exhortations to the people, proceeds thus (11, 11—13):

And so the poor of the flock that waited upon me knew that it *was* the word of the Lord.

12 And I said unto them,—If ye think good, give *me* my price; and if not, forbear. So they weighed for my price thirty pieces of silver.

13 And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter: a goodly price that I was prised at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord.

It would be difficult to find any analogy between the facts of the gospel-history and those which the prophet imagined: the only connection between them is evidently the number of the silver-pieces, thirty, the house of the Lord, and the mention of the Potter's Field.

CHAPTER XLII.

SIMILARITY OF STYLE AND LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS—OPINIONS OF VARIOUS WRITERS IN FAVOUR OF THEIR HAVING BEEN COMPILED FROM EARLIER RECORDS.

Recurring to the evangelic writings, and viewing them as four separate histories, the most hasty reader cannot fail to observe the marked difference between St John's Gospel and that of the other three, regarding not only the historical order of events, as before pointed out, * but the style also, in which the four are written. Even in the discourses of our Lord, which, as Justin

* See page 111.

Martyr † tells us, were given in short pithy sentences, easy to be borne in mind, this difference of style is very observable, and the reason of it may be partly found in the universally admitted fact that the fourth gospel was written many years later than the other three. We will then exclude the gospel of St John from the comparison now to be made; for, even if we admit that he has gathered his facts and discourses from original sources common to them all, it is equally certain that he has expanded, or contracted, and otherwise modified these to suit his own convenience, and occasionally introduced many thoughts and modes of expression of his own.

The first three gospels of our canon are remarkably alike; their writers agree in relating the same thing not only in the same manner, but likewise in the very words, as must be evident to every common reader who has paid the slightest attention to the subject. The parallel extracts which here follow, are taken almost at random from the three gospels, out of a much larger number of examples which might, if needful, be brought forward, and the comparison, which is here made, through the English version, would be far more striking, if the extracts were given in the original Greek.

MATT. 21, 23—27.

23 And when he was come into the temple, the chief priests and the elders of the people came unto him as he was teaching, and said, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?

24 And Jesus answered and said unto them, I also will ask you one thing, which if ye tell me, I in like wise will tell you by what authority I do these things.

25 The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men?

MARK 11, 27—33.

And as he was walking in the temple, there come to him the chief priests, and the scribes, and the elders,

28 And say unto him, By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority to do these things?

29 And Jesus answered and said unto them, I will also ask of you one question, and answer me, and I will tell you by what authority I do these things.

30 The baptism of John, was it from heaven, or of men? answer me.

† See page 82.

And they reasoned with themselves, saying, If we shall say, From heaven; he will say unto us, Why did ye not then believe him?

26 But if we shall say, Of men; we fear the people; for all hold John as a prophet.

27 And they answered Jesus, and said, We cannot tell. And he said unto them, Neither tell I you by what authority I do these things.

MATT. 9, 2—7.

Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy; Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.

3 And, behold, certain of the scribes said within themselves, This MAN blasphemeth.

4 And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts?

5 For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk?

6 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (then saith he to the sick of the palsy,) Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house.

7 And he arose, and departed to his house.

MARK 2, 5—12.

5 When Jesus saw their faith, he said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.

6 But there were certain of the scribes sitting there, and reasoning in their hearts,

7 Why doth this MAN thus speak blasphemies? who can forgive sins but God only?

8 And immediately when Jesus perceived in his spirit that they so reasoned within themselves, he said unto them, Why reason ye these things in your hearts?

9 Whether is it easier to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and take up thy bed and walk?

10 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins, (he saith to the sick of the palsy,)

11 I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy bed, and go thy way into thine house.

12 And immediately he arose, took up the bed and went forth before them all;

LUKE 5, 10—25.

20 And when he saw their faith, he said unto him, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

21 And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this which speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone?

22 But when Jesus perceived their thoughts, he answering said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts?

23 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk?

24 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power upon earth to forgive sins, (he said unto the sick of the palsy,) I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go into thine house.

25 And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his own house, glorifying God.

MARK 1, 21—28.

21 And they went into Capernaum; and straightway on the sabbath day he entered into the synagogue, and taught.

22 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for he taught them as one that had authority, and not as the scribes.

23 And there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit; and he cried out,

LUKE 4, 31—37.

31 And came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the sabbath days.

32 And they were astonished at his doctrine: for his word was with power.

33 And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil, and cried out with a loud voice,

24 Saying, Let *us* alone; what have we to do with thee, thou Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God.

25 And Jesus rebuked him saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him.

26 And when the unclean spirit had torn him, and cried with a loud voice, he came out of him.

27 And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What is this? what new doctrine *is* this? for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him.

28 And immediately his fame spread abroad throughout all the region round about Galilee.

MATT. 24, 33.

Now learn a parable of the fig-tree, when his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: so likewise, ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

MATT. 24, 9—35.

And ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake . . . 13 But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.

15 When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand :) 16 Then let them which be in Judea flee unto the mountains :

17 Let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house. 18 Neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes.

34 Saying, Let *us* alone; what have we to do with thee, *thou* Jesus of Nazareth? art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the Holy One of God.

35 And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And when the devil had thrown him in the midst, he came out of him, and hurt him not.

36 And they were all amazed, and spake among themselves, saying, What a word *is* this! for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they come out.

37 And the fame of him went out into every place of the country round about.

MARK, 13, 20.

Now learn a parable of the fig-tree; when her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near: so ye, in like manner, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh, even at the doors. Verily, I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

LUKE, 21, 31.

Behold the fig-tree, and all the trees; when they now shoot forth, ye see and know of your own selves, that summer is now nigh at hand: so likewise, ye, when ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

MARK 13, 13—32.

13 And *ye* shall be hated of all *men* for my name's sake: but he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved.

14 But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand,) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains :

15 And let him that is on the house-top not go down into the house, neither enter *therein*, to take any thing out of his house. 16 And let him that is in the field not turn back again for to take up his garment.

19 And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. 20 But pray ye that your flight be not in winter, neither on the sabbath day.

21 For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, nor ever shall be.

22 And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved : but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened.

23 Then if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there ; believe it not.

24 For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders ; in-somuch that, if *it were* possible, they shall deceive the very elect.

25 Behold, I have told you before.

29 Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken :

30 . . . and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.

31 And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.

32. Now learn a parable of the fig tree ; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth his leaves, ye know that summer *is* nigh.

33 So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, *even* at the doors.

34 Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled.

17 But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days !

18 And pray ye that your flight be not in the winter.

19 For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation which God created unto this time, neither shall be.

20 And except that the Lord had shortened those days no flesh should be saved ; but for the elect's sake, whom he hath chosen, he hath shortened the days.

21 And then, if any man shall say to you, Lo, here is Christ ; or lo, *he is* there ; believe *him* not :

22 For false Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall shew signs and wonders, to seduce, if it *were* possible, even the elect.

23 But take ye heed : behold, I have foretold you all things.

24 But in those days, after that tribulation, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light,

25 And the stars of heaven shall fall, and the powers that are in heaven shall be shaken.

26 And then shall they see the Son of man coming in the clouds with great power and glory.

27 And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.

28 Now learn a parable of the fig tree ; When her branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is near :

29 So ye, in like manner, when ye shall see these things come to pass, know that it is nigh, *even* at the doors.

30 Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done.

35 Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

31 Heaven and earth shall pass away : but my words shall not pass away.

The agreement between the three evangelists in these extracts is remarkable, and leads to the question how such coincidences could arise between works which, from the first years of Christianity until the beginning of the seventeenth century, were understood to be perfectly independent, and to have had each a separate and independent origin. The answer to this question may at last, after more than a hundred years of discussion, be given with tolerable certainty, if we are allowed to judge of this subject according to the rules of reason and common sense, by which all other such difficulties are resolved.

“The most eminent critics”—we quote from Marsh’s Michaelis, vol. 3, part 2, page 170—“are at present decidedly of opinion that one of the two suppositions must necessarily be adopted—either that the three evangelists copied from each other, or that all the three drew from *a common source*, and that the notion of an absolute independence, in respect to the composition of our three first gospels, is no longer tenable. Yet the question, which of these two suppositions ought to be adopted in preference to the other, is still in agitation ; and each of them has such able advocates, that, if we were guided by the authority of names, the decision would be extremely difficult.”

The alternative between *a common source* and *copying from each other*, is now no longer in the same position as in the days of Michaelis or Bishop Marsh. To decide between the two is no longer difficult. No one will now admit that either of the four evangelists has copied from the other three ;

1. Because in neither of the four is there the slightest notice of the others ;

2. Because, if either of the evangelists may be thought, from the remarkable similarity of any particular part of his narrative, to have copied out of either of the other gospels, we immediately light upon so many other passages, wholly inconsistent with what

the other three have related on the same subject, that we immediately ask why he has not copied from the others on those points also.

It only remains therefore for us to infer that there was a common source, first traditional and then written—the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* in short, or *Memorials* &c. of Justin Martyr; and that from this source the four canonical gospels, together with thirty or forty others, many of which are still in existence, were, at various periods of early Christianity, compiled by various writers.

This conclusion may not only be reasonably deduced from the various arguments already given in this volume, but seems also to have been the result which many writers on this subject, have more or less invariably arrived at. A brief notice of previous enquiries may be here acceptable to the reader.

Among the ancients, Epiphanius, in the fourth century, says of the gospels that their statements are harmonious and alike (*συμφώνως καὶ ἰσως κηρύξαι*, *Haeres.* 51, 6), and that this resulted from their being drawn from the same fountain (*ὅτι ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πηγῆς ὥρμηται*).

The first who, in modern times ventured to call in question the genuineness of the four gospels, was Le Clerc, who, in his *Historia Critica*, published at Amsterdam, 1716, put forth the supposition that they were, at least in some part, compiled out of similar, if not the same original documents.

This view was revived by Michaelis, in the Introduction to his great work, published 1777.

In 1783, Dr Semler published at Halle a treatise, in which he propounded the theory that the first three gospels were mostly copied and translated from older Hebrew or Syriac documents.

In 1784, the idea of a Syriac, Chaldee, or Hebrew prototype, first started by Semler, was revived and strongly maintained in a work by Lessing, published among his postumous writings.

The idea was again taken up, in 1790, by Dr Niemeyer, professor of divinity at Halle, who ventures to point out one source

from which the materials for compiling our gospels may have been derived.

Jam si fides habenda est patrum auctoritati, antiquissima extitit de vita Jesu Christi narratio, in usum eorum, qui e Judæis Christiani facti erant, Palæstinensium imprimis scripta.

[If the authority of the Fathers may be believed, there existed a most ancient narrative concerning the life of Jesus Christ, for the use principally of those inhabitants of Palestine, who from Jews had become Christians.]

Hæc narratio variis nominibus insignitur, quo pertinent Evangelium duodecim apostolorum, Hebræorum, Nazaræorum, secundum Matthæum : eademque, nisi me omnia fallunt, pro fonte habenda est, e quo reliqua id genus scripta tanquam rivuli originem suam duxerunt.

[This narrative is distinguished by various names: to this refers the gospel of the twelve apostles, of the Hebrews, and of the Nazarenes, according to Matthew, and the same, unless I am wholly deceived, is to be regarded as the source, from which the other writings of this sort have drawn their origin, like streams from the fountain-head.]

Quum vero contineret hic liber, de quo quærimus, Apostolorum de vita Christi narrationes, non modo propter argumenti gravitatem credibile est ejus exemplaria in plurimorum Christianorum manibus fuisse, quorum maxime debebat interesse divinam magistri sui imaginem intueri, verum etiam singulis exemplaribus ea, quæ *quisque* aliunde de Christo comperta haberet, tanquam auctaria adscripta esse : ita quidem ut vel Apostolorum ævo, plures extiterint horum memorabilium recensiones. Quod si sumitur ; multa facillime explicari possunt, quæ, sublata ista hypothesi, admodum obscuras reddunt evangeliorum nostrorum origines. Primum intelligitur consensus Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, per plures evangeliorum suorum partes, non modo in rerum quas tractunt similitudine, verum etiam verborum conspiratione perspicuus : Fac centum homines ejusdem facti fuisse testes ; fac centum ipsos quod viderint mandasse literis : Consentient re, different verbis : nec quisquam casu factum esse judicabit, si vel tres aut quatuor ex eorum numero rem ita narraverint, ut per plurimarum periodorum seriem, verbum verbo respondeat.

Hoc vero quis ignorat sexcenties observari in evangelistarum *commentariis* ? Atqui hoc mirum non est. *Nempe ex eodem hauserunt fonte.* Memorabilia Christi et dicta et facta Hebraice scripta, in usum Græce loquentium, Græca fecerunt. Qui vero factum est, ut Lucas alium sequeretur rerum ordinem, quam Matthæus ; ut in Marco plura desiderentur, in Matthæo, cujus vestigia premere videtur, obvia ? Ut in singulis partibus,

alter altero verbosior, in observandis rebus minutis diligentior reperiatur? Quoniam, ut diximus, mira fuit *exemplarium*, quæ ista Apostolorum Ἀπομνημονεύματα complectebantur, *diversitas*. Deinde, quoniam liberum fuit iis, qui ex istis Commentariis sua evangelia concinnabant, addere quæ sibi aliunde innotuissent, resecare quæ vel sublest fidei, vel minus utilia lectoribus, et a suo scribendi consilio remota judicarent.

“ Since this book of which we speak contained the narrations of the apostles concerning the life of Christ, not only is it credible from the importance of its argument, that copies of it should have been in the hands of the generality of Christians, whom it ought chiefly to have concerned to behold the divine image of their master, but that in each particular copy, would be written as a sort of supplement, whatever ANY ONE had found to be true concerning Christ from other sources: so that indeed, even in the age of the apostles, there might have been several selections of these memoirs: which, if it be admitted, many things can be most easily explained, which otherwise render the origin of our gospels VERY OBSCURE. In the first place, the clear agreement of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, in many parts of their gospels, not only in the resemblance of the subjects of which they treat, but in use of the SAME WORDS, is understood. Make a hundred men to have been witnesses of the same fact; make the same hundred to have written accounts of what they saw; they will agree in matter, they will differ in words:—nor will any one say that it happened by accident, if even three or four out of their number, had so related their story, as to answer word for word, through a course of many periods.

“ But who is ignorant, that such an agreement is to be observed repeatedly in the COMMENTARIES of the Evangelists? But this is not wonderful: since THEY DREW FROM THE SAME FOUNTAIN. They translated the memorable sayings and actions of Christ, which were written in Hebrew, into Greek, for the use of those who spoke the Greek language. But, how came it that Luke should follow a different arrangement from Matthew? That many things should be wanting in Mark, that are readily to be met with in Matthew, whose steps he seems to follow? That in particular parts, one should be found more wordy than the other? in observing minute circumstances more diligent?—Why! Because as we have said, there really was a wonderful diversity in the copies which contained those MEMOIRS OF THE APOSTLES: and, secondly, because it was optionable for those who composed their gospels, out of those commentaries, to ADD whatever they knew of the matter from other sources, and to CUT OFF whatever they considered to be of equivocal credibility, or less useful to readers and alien from their object in writing.”

In 1793, a prize was proposed by the theological faculty of Gottingen for the best essay on the origin of the four gospels, and the mode by which they came to get a canonical authority beyond the other gospels usually termed uncanonical. The prize was given to Halfeld, who maintained that the four gospels were derived from earlier but different sources.

The next who endeavoured to elucidate this subject was Dr Eichhorn, who, in vol. 5 of *Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Literatur* (1794), gave a dissertation on the origin of the first three gospels, in which he endeavoured to establish that a common document had, in process of time, received various additions, and

that three different copies of this kind had been used respectively by the three evangelists, each independently of each other. This original document was written, he thinks, in Hebrew, but possibly had been translated into Greek, which afterwards became varied by the transcribers, and so furnished an origin both of the variations as well as of the similarity of style so observable in the four gospels of our canon.

The next critic who wrote on this important question was Beausobre, who says in his work on the Manichæans, vol. 1, p. 455—456.

We must place at the head of the first class two gospels . . . The most ancient of all in my opinion is the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes pretended to be the original of saint Matthew. It began with the words, "Now it came to pass in the days of Herod. . . ."

It appears from the fragments of it which have been preserved to our times, that it contained no heresy, and that, with a few exceptions, the history of our Lord was there faithfully related.

In this gospel was found the history of the woman taken in adultery, as related in the 8th chapter of saint John: and since this was not contained in many copies of this last gospel, some have conjectured that it had been taken out of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and inserted in that of John. If this be true, it is a testimony which the ancients have rendered to the gospel of the Nazarenes, and, if this history was originally contained in saint John's gospel, it is another proof of the truth of their gospel.

That which has been called the Gospel according to the Egyptians is of the same antiquity. Origen has made mention of it. Clement of Alexandria had already quoted it in several passages; and, if the second epistle of Clement of Rome is genuine, this gospel would have a testimony even yet more ancient than that of those two doctors. There is also, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a commentary on saint Luke ascribed to Titus of Bostra, in which this bishop seems to place the Gospel according to the Egyptians in the same class with those which saint Luke has indicated, and therefore earlier than his gospel. As the Eneerites quoted it in defence of their error about marriage, the Fathers have not absolutely rejected its testimonies. They have endeavoured to explain it in an orthodox sense; which shows that this book had a sort of authority, and was not suspected of having been forged by the heretics. Whenever I have reflected, that it was received by the Christians of Egypt, I have not been

able to avoid the thought, that it had been written by the Essenians, who had believed in Jesus Christ. The religion of those persons had in it much of Christianity. The gospel of the Egyptians was full of mysticism, parables, enigmas, and allegories. This is attributed to the spirit of the nation, but for my part, I should rather attribute it to the spirit of the Essenians. They found in it sentences, which appeared to favour Encratism. Now, the Essenians lived in continence and abstinence. It is therefore very likely, that persons of this Jewish sect, the only one that Jesus Christ never blamed, attached themselves to the Son of God, and followed him; and after his death, having retired into Egypt, composed there a history of his life, and of his teaching, which was published in Egypt, and was therefore called the Gospel according to the Egyptians.

The learned work of Michaelis was translated into English by Bishop Marsh, who came to the following conclusion on the same question which had occupied his predecessors—that

St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke, all three used different copies of some common document, which before any of our canonical Greek gospels existed, was known as the GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE HEBREWS, or the GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE TWELVE APOSTLES; a gospel, of which the ancients speak with great respect: or the GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE NAZARENES, or the GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW. The materials of which, our St Matthew who wrote in Hebrew, retained, in the language in which he found them, Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac: but St Mark, and St Luke, beside their copies of that original Hebrew, Chaldee, or Syriac document, used a Greek translation of it, which had been made before any of the additions, which our St Matthew found in his Hebrew copy, had been inserted. Lastly, the person who translated St Matthew's Hebrew copy of that original document into Greek, frequently derived assistance from the Greek translation of St Mark, where St Mark had matter in common with St Matthew; that is, to save his own trouble, he copied the Greek of St Mark, instead of continuing his own translation, de novo, from Matthew's Hebrew transcript: and in those places, but in those places only, where St Mark had no matter in common with St Matthew, he frequently had recourse, with the same view, to the ready-made Greek of St Luke's Gospel. But though the person who translated St Matthew's particular Hebrew copy of the common Hebrew document into Greek, did compare and collate those two other gospels with his own, yet Matthew, Mark, and Luke, had no other knowledge of each other's gospels."

Whilst these and other writers from within the pale of the

established European churches were carefully endeavouring to support, whilst they examined, the orthodox view of the four gospels, another class of writers, less heedful of consequences, have in modern times wholly denied a divine character to either Christianity or the Christian writers. Toland, Bolingbroke, Chubb, Morgan, T. Paine, and later still, Taylor the author of the *Diegesis*,—a work whose light and offensive tone is an antidote to the learning and talent which it developes—have, in various modes, pursued a line of criticism hostile to the estimation in which the books of the New Testament have hitherto been held. But, whilst no great weight can be attached to the lucubrations of our own countrymen, though Dr Arnold's dissatisfaction with the old doctrines of the authenticity and inspiration, is a fact not to be slighted, yet in Germany a host of learned and intellectual writers have arisen who have rescued theology from the charge of having alone been stationary, when every other science has moved onward.

Let us proceed, but even still more briefly, to examine the Acts and the rest of the books of the New Testament—They will furnish similar arguments against the prevailing opinion that they are all written by men who were contemporary with the events which they relate.

CHAPTER XLIII.

SUMMARY OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

The book of the Acts of the Apostles, which is placed, in the New Testament, immediately after the four gospels, begins with a short dedication or preface addressed to Theophilus, who is reasonably supposed to be the same to whom the gospel according to St Luke is inscribed. The book contains the adventures which

happened to some of the apostles, and especially to saint Paul, a new convert, between Christ's ascension into heaven and the year of our Lord 63. A summary of its contents may be convenient to save the trouble of constant reference to the New Testament.

Christ's Ascension, 40 days after his Resurrection : *chap.* 1, *vv.* 3—9.

—"In those days" [1, 15],—when the number of the disciples was 120, Matthias is elected into the place of Judas : 26.

—The *Holy Spirit* is given on the day of Pentecost [II, 1]. According to the modern mode of computation, Easter day, in year 33, was *Ap.* 5, and Whitsunday was *May* 24.

Soon afterwards, Peter, "standing up with the eleven," addressed the people. "The same day were added unto them about three thousand souls," II, 41.

—Gamaliel cautions the people not to molest the apostles, for that their doctrines, if false, would die away of their own accord ; and, in illustration of this, he reminds them that the similar attempts of Theudas and Judas the Galilæan, "in the days of the taxing," had been brought to nought. V, 35—36.

—Seven deacons are chosen. "And the word of God increased ; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly ; and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." VI, 1—7.

Stephen, the deacon, is stoned to death. VII.

The first notice of Paul here occurs in Acts VII, 58, where the witnesses against Stephen, stripping themselves to cast the first stone against their victim, laid down "their clothes at a young man's feet whose name was Saul."

VIII, 1. "Saul was consenting unto his [*Stephen's*] death."

—"At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem ; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." VIII, 1.

"As for Saul, he made havoc of the church &c." VIII, 3.

Marginal date 34.

—Saul's journey to Damascus—His conversion on the way, IX, 3—22. A. D. 35.

—"After that many days were fulfilled," Saul escapes from Damascus and goes to Jerusalem. IX, 23—27.

IX, 30. The disciples, fearing lest the Gentiles should murder him, "brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus."

—“And it came to pass in those days that she [Tabitha or Dorcas] was sick and died.” IX, 37.

—“And it came to pass that he [Peter] tarried many days in Joppa with one Simon a tanner.” IX, 43.

—Peter is warned to go with the messengers of Cornelius from Joppa to Cæsarea. X.

The date given in the margin of our bibles to these events is A. D. 41.

—“Then departed Barnabas to Tarsus, for to seek Saul, and when he had found him, he brought him to Antioch. And it came to pass that a whole year they assembled themselves with the church and taught much people. And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch. And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem unto Antioch; and there stood up one of them named Agabus, and signified by the spirit that there should be great dearth throughout all the world: which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar. Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judæa: which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.” XI, 25—30.

An approximative date to these events may be obtained from the death of Herod, which happened A. D. 44, and is related in connection with these events. *Acts* 12, 23.

—“About that time Herod the king stretched forth his hand to vex certain of the church.” James is put to death, and Peter is imprisoned, but escapes by the interference of an angel. . . . “And he [Herod] went down from Judæa to Cæsarea, and there abode.” XII, 1—19.

—“Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their ministry, and took with them John, whose surname was Mark.” XII, 25.

In chap. 13, it is related that Barnabas and Saul are deputed to preach the gospel in distant countries, and that they proceed accordingly to Seleucia, and from thence to Cyprus (*v.* 4), where they visit the principal cities Salamis and Paphos (*vv.* 5, 6]. Here, in the account of their rencontre with Elymas the sorcerer, before Sergius Paulus, the deputy, i. e. proconsul, we first learn that Saul was also called Paul (*v.* 9); and from this time the name of Saul is dropped.

XIII, 13. They sail from Paphos to Perga in Pamphylia. John, alias Mark, returns to Jerusalem.

—14. They depart from Perga to Antioch, where Paul preaches in the synagogue on the two following sabbaths, but being persecuted by the Jews, they shake off the dust from their feet and depart to Iconium (*v.* 51).

XIV, 1—6. They preach at Iconium, but, "when there was an assault made both of the Gentiles, and also of the Jews with their rulers," they flee to Lystra and Derbe.

—8—28. At Lystra Paul cures a lame man; the people take him and Barnabas for gods; but by the intervention of some Jews from Antioch and Iconium, their minds are turned, and they stone Paul, leaving him for dead. On his recovery, he and Barnabas depart to Derbe, thence back to Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, Perga, Attalia (v. 25) and back to Antioch, where they "abode long time with the disciples."

—Paul and Barnabas go up from Antioch to Jerusalem to consult the church about circumcision, and return to Antioch taking with them Judas, surnamed Barsabas, and Silas. XV, 1—35. A. D. 51.

—Paul sets out on his second tour, but quarrels with Barnabas about John surnamed Mark. Barnabas takes Mark and sails to Cyprus. XV, 36—39.

—Paul proceeds on his journey, in company with Silas: they visited Derbe, Lystra, and passing through Phrygia, Mysia, Troas, crossed to Samothrace, Neapolis, Philippi, (where Paul cast out from a woman, a spirit of divination, 16, 12: and was imprisoned with Silas, but released after the shock of an earthquake) Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, Beræa, 17, 18: Athens, and Corinth, (where they "found a certain Jew named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, with his wife Priscilla, because that Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome." 18, 2.

—[The date is 54 in margin] after which they "continued there a year and six months" (Gallio being deputy of Achaia), Cenchreæ, 18, 18: Ephesus, Cæsarea, Jerusalem and Antioch. XV, 40—XVIII, 22.

—After Paul "had spent some time there [at Antioch]" he "went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order"—to Ephesus (where he "disputed daily in the school of one Tyrannus—by the space of two years,") Macedonia, 20, 1: Greece, where he abode three months, Philippi, Troas, Assos, 20, 13: Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Trogyllium, Miletus, Ephesus, 20, 17: Coos, Rhodes, Patara, Tyre, 21, 3: Ptolemais, Cæsarea, Jerusalem; where he was led before the chief captain Claudius Lysias, who asked him if he was not that Egyptian who had "led into the wilderness 4000 men that were murderers &c." 21, 38.

Paul makes his defence, but owing to the clamours of the Jews, they are on the point of scourging him, until it is known that he was a Roman citizen; upon which he is on the morrow set free from his bonds and again examined, on the morrow, face to face with his accusers. 22, 1—30.

Ananias the high priest commanding to smite Paul, is rebuked by Paul, who does not know that he is the high priest. The Jews conspire to kill Paul but through Paul's sister's son information thereof is sent to Claudius Lysias who sends him down to Cæsarea 23, 1—35.

He appears before Felix, and is left bound two years, until Festus was sent to succeed Felix. XXIV, 1—27.

Paul, having been heard by Festus and king Agrippa, appeals to Cæsar. The hearing occupies the whole of chapters 25 and 26.

Paul takes ship for Rome, and on his arrival at that city, he dwelt "two years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him." Chapters 27 and 28.

The particulars of the voyage, though highly interesting, are of no importance to our present subject.

Our present object is, neither to defend nor to assail the truth of the history contained in this book, but to show, as has been done in the case of the gospels, that the work is an anonymous compilation, drawn up in a later age, and does not possess the authority of an original contemporary record of the first 20 or 30 years after the death of Christ. The arguments will be deduced, as in the gospel, partly from errors, anachronisms, and contradictions, found in the book itself, partly from a comparison of its contents with other profane histories of the period which it treats of.

From the inscription to Theophilus, it has been argued that the book of the Acts was written by Saint Luke; but this inference is based on the supposition that the gospel, bearing his name, was also written by him; and we have shown that no proof of this can be produced beyond the popular tradition. Where therefore the premises are traditional or conjectural, the conclusion drawn from them must clearly be conjectural also. There are however certain passages in the Acts which are thought to prove that the author of the Acts was at all events contemporary with Saint Paul and actually accompanied him on his travels. Thus, in the last chapter, verse 7, the writer says,

In the same quarters were possessions of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius, who received *us*, and lodged *us* three days courteously.

The same form of words is found in several other passages of the work. This conclusion might be of weight, if it were certain that the Acts of the Apostles is a distinct original work, as opposed to a compilation in which different traditions and documents are put together in the very words which they bore in their original fragmentary state. This point however cannot be proved of the Acts of the Apostles. There is the strongest internal evidence that the work is compiled out of fragments, and that the compiler has united them together so as to make a continuous history, but has not been able to conceal the sutures which join, and yet separate, the several portions of the work. To the compiler of the work * then, may be due the dedication to Theophilus, as in the case of the gospel, but not the character of having himself witnessed the events which he relates of the apostles generally in the first few chapters, and afterwards of Paul alone. We may now consider the facts which seem to prove that this view of the work is a reality and not a supposition.

1. *Paul, otherwise called Saul.*

1. In the first place, after the thirteenth chapter, verse 9, where we learn that Saul was "also called Paul," we hear little or nothing of the twelve apostles, but the history follows the new apostle Paul, almost exclusively, and it is only in the travels of Paul that the writer of the history, whoever he may have been uses the personal pronouns *we* and *us*. A suspicion arises from

* An apposite illustration of this process may be adduced in the various lives of Thomas à Becket, preserved in MS. in various public libraries—Besides several independent lives of this saint by known writers, there is a compilation from various sources called the *Quadrilogus*. No less than six copies of this work are extant, each professing to be the work of a separate author, who has prepared a new preface of his own—but the body of the work is the same in all!

this fact, that the book of the Acts is made up out of two originals, one the Acts of the Apostles generally, the other the Acts or Travels of saint Paul. It would seem that the compiler did not know why the name of Saul was changed to Paul, for he merely tells us that the two names designate the same person, and this view of the case militates strongly against the opinion that the writer was himself a witness of the events which he relates.

2. *The Ascension.*

2. There is a serious discrepancy between the writer of the Acts of the Apostles and the evangelists on the subject of the Ascension. It will be seen in the Harmony of events following the resurrection, given in the 40th chapter (p. 261), that Matthew and John take no notice of this important particular, that, according to Mark (16, 19) the ascension took place from the room in which the eleven sat at meat in Jerusalem on the evening of the resurrection, but that in Luke's gospel (24, 50—51,) it took place from Bethany, whither Jesus led them out immediately after his appearance to them on the evening of the resurrection. Now, however, we learn from the Acts (1, 3) that Christ "shewed himself alive after his passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God." It is impossible to insert this interval of forty days into the narrative of Saint Luke between the resurrection which happened in the morning and the ascension which took place at Bethany in the evening. Again in the Acts (1, 4) Jesus tells his disciples "that they should not depart from Jerusalem," until they should "be endued with power from on high (Luke 24, 59)," but, in Matthew's gospel, they had already gone into Galilee, immediately after the resurrection, and in John appear to have resumed their old occupations, supposing that they had for ever lost their master.

In the latter statement about not departing from Jerusalem, the author of the Acts is at variance with Saint Matthew, but in the former, about the forty days, he is at variance with Saint Luke. How then can it be said that the same person wrote the gospel and

the Acts—which are at variance with one another on so important a point as the question whether Christ was seen only one day or forty by his disciples after his resurrection? The two accounts can only be reconciled by supposing one of them to be erroneous, which leads to the inevitable inference that the books could not both be written by apostles or infallible authors.

3. *Simeon and Simon.*

3. In the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, is the notice of a meeting held by Paul and Barnabas and the other apostles and elders respecting the alleged necessity of keeping the law of Moses. Peter then rises, and addresses them as follows :

7 Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe.

8 And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as *he did* unto us ;

9 And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.

10 Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?

11 But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.

When Peter had ended, Paul and Barnabas address the meeting ; after which James, commonly called the first bishop of Jerusalem, begins to speak thus :

13 Men and brethren, hearken unto me : 14 Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for his name &c.

This is an important passage, and it is worth while to consider who is meant by Simeon, and what “visitation of the Gentiles” is here referred to. The note, in D’oily and Mant’s Family Bible, interprets Simeon, “the same as Simon, meaning saint Peter.” But this is making very short work of the matter : *Simeon* is not the same name as *Simon*, either in Hebrew, in Greek, or in any other language. In Greek especially the difference is strongly

marked, Σίμων—Συμέων. The mind involuntarily turns to aged Simeon, who is said in the gospel of saint Luke to have come into the temple, when the infant Jesus was presented by his mother, and to have blessed God, and said,

(LUKE 2, 29—32) Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.

30 For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,

31 Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people ;

32 A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.

But there are difficulties in both views of the matter. If Simon Peter's address to the meeting is what James refers to, why does he puzzle the subject by calling him Simeon? * Moreover the words which he addressed to the meeting do not convey the meaning which James ascribes to Simeon. The remark which Peter made, was that they knew how God through him had lately admitted the Gentiles to the privileges of the gospel: but James tells the assembly that Simeon had declared how God *at the first* had chosen the Jews from among the Gentiles, to the honour of his name. There is here some great confusion, as if the writer had obtained a faint knowledge of what had been said by aged Simeon fifty years before in the temple, and was unable to explain more clearly what had already become obscure by time.

4. *Theudas and Judas.*

4. In the 5th chapter of the Acts, verses 36—37, we read :

36 For before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody ; to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves : who was slain ; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered, and brought to nought.

37 After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him : he also perished ; and all, *even* as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.

These words form part of the speech of Gamaliel to the Jewish sanhedrim, dissuading them from persecuting Peter, lest they

* Simeon is substituted for Simon in the inscription to the second Epistle of S't Peter.

should be found to fight against God. Gamaliel enforces his argument by pointing out that all previous impostors had fallen by the weakness of their cause, and he suggests that the apostles also, left to themselves, will not succeed, unless their doctrine is from above.

The cases which Gamaliel cites in support of his argument are those of Theudas and Judas the Galilean. But there is this remarkable difficulty attendant upon the affair, that, when Gamaliel made this address to the sanhedrim, the insurrection of Theudas and his misguided followers had not taken place ! The account of the affair is found in Josephus.

Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος, γόης τις ἀνὴρ, Θευδάς ὀνόματι, πείθει τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον, ἀναλαμβάνοντα τὰς κτήσεις ἔπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ· “Προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας, διόδον ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥαδίαν.” Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. Οὐ μὴν εἶασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φάδος, ἀλλ’ ἐξέπεμψεν ἱλὴν ἱππέων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, ἥτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλε, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν· αὐτόν τε τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. Τὰ μὲν οὖν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατὰ τοὺς Κουσπίου Φάδου τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς χρόνους, ταῦτα ἐγένετο.

2. Ἦλθε δὲ Φάδῳ Τιβέριος Ἀλέξανδρος διάδοχος, Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖς τοῦ καὶ ἀλαβαρχήσαντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύσαντος τῶν ἐκεῖ καθ’ αὐτὸν, ὃς διήνεγκε καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου· τοῖς γὰρ πατρίοις οὐκ ἐνέμενεν οὗτος ἔθεςιν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὴ καὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι· καθ’ ὃν καὶ ἡ βασιλισσα Ἐλενη, πολλῶν χρημάτων ὠνησαμένη σίτον ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, διένειμε τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις, ὡς προείπον. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνηρέθησαν—τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος, Κυρηνίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητοῦ ὄντος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐδηλώσαμεν.—JOS. *Ant.* 20, 5, 1—2.

Whilst Fadus was governor of Judæa, [i. e. in the fourth year of Claudius A. D. 44] a certain magician [*impostor*], Theudas by name, persuades the greater part of the multitude to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan. For he said that he was a prophet, and told them that he would divide the river by his command, and afford them an easy passage. And by saying this he deceived many. Fadus however did not suffer them to reap the fruits of their folly; but sent against them a troop of cavalry, which falling on them unexpectedly, slew many of them, and took many alive. They captured Theudas alive, and cut off his head and carried it to Jerusalem.

Such were the events which happened to the Jews at the time of Cuspius Fadus's government.

2. The successor of Fadus was Tiberius Alexander, son of Alexander who was Alabarch in Alexandria, the first man there of his time both in birth and in wealth, and who for piety towards God also was far above his son Alexander: for the latter did not abide by the customs of his country. It was during the government of these men that the great famine also happened in Judæa, when also the queen Helena bought corn in Egypt for much money, and dealt it out, as we have already said, to those who were in need. In addition to these were put to death also the children of Judas the Galilean—who led the people to revolt from the Romans, when Cyrenius was the valuer in Judea, as we have shown in the previous part of this history.

Those who defend the genuineness and accuracy of the Acts of the Apostles, suggest that there may have been two Theudas's, and two insurrections, one of which had already happened before the time of Gamaliel, but there is not the slightest authority for such a supposition, and, wanting this, it is highly improbable that two such events should have happened, so precisely similar, within so short a period.

But the insurrection of Judas the Galilean, is said to have followed that of Theudas, and to have happened at the time of the taxing, which is erroneously supposed by Saint Luke to have been the occasion which led Christ's parents to visit Bethlehem ten years before [see page 119 of this volume]. But instead of happening immediately after the insurrection of Theudas, it happened forty years before, though it appears from the extract above

quoted out of Josephus, that the children of Judas the Galilean were put to death immediately after the tumult, begun by Theudas, had been repressed. The connection between the two names, Theudas and Judas, both in the speech of Gamaliel, and in the History of Josephus, is at any rate curious, and is a strong argument that the same incidents are referred to, both by the Jewish historian, and the writer of the Acts—No other proof however is wanting that the writer of the Acts of the Apostles has endeavoured to ornament his narrative, like Thucydides and Livy, by placing in the mouths of his characters speeches, which he supposed likely to have been spoken in the circumstances under which those persons were placed.

No other explanation so reasonable can be given for Gamaliel being made to refer in his speech to an event which did not happen until forty years afterwards.

5. *The Conversion of Saint Paul.*

The first eight chapters of the Acts of the Apostles convey us, according to the margin of our bibles, from the date of Christ's crucifixion to A. D. 34—embracing an interval of four years, if we place Christ's death in 30, but of one year only, if we place it in the year 33 of our era. This chronological arrangement is exceedingly arbitrary, for we have no sure indication of the time at which any of the events related in the Acts of the Apostles may be supposed to have happened—a few short and vague allusions to the “days of Claudius Cæsar,” and such like, are all the data that remain.

The ninth chapter of the Acts opens with the journey of saint Paul to Damascus, and of his conversion by the way. Three accounts of this event have come down to us—all of them in the Acts—the first in the words of the author or compiler of the book, writing of saint Paul in the third person, the other two in the words of Paul, speaking in the first person, first to the people of Jerusalem, and secondly before king Agrippa.

ACTS 9, 1—8.

And Saul, yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the high-priest,

2 And desired of him letters to Damascus to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem.

3 And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus : and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven :

4 And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?

5 And he said, who art thou, Lord ? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest : it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

6 And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.

7 And the men which journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no man.

8 And Saul arose from the earth ; and when his eyes were opened, he saw no man : but they led him by the hand, and brought him into Damascus.

ACTS 22, 5—11.

I received letters unto the brethren, and went to Damascus, to bring them which were there bound unto Jerusalem, for to be punished.

6 And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me.

7 And I fell unto the ground and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ?

8 And I answered, Who art thou, Lord ? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest.

9 And they that were with me saw indeed the light, and were afraid : but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me.

10 And I said, What shall I do, Lord ? And the Lord said unto me, Arise, and go into Damascus ; and there it shall be told thee of all things which are appointed for thee to do.

11 And when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them that were with me, I came into Damascus.

ACTS 26, 12—

Whereupon as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests.

13 At mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them which journeyed with me.

14 And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me ? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

15 And I said, who art thou, Lord ? And he said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest.

16 But rise, and stand upon thy feet for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee &c.

In these accounts we meet with two serious difficulties involving a charge—not of forgery or of dishonesty, in the compiler of the book, but that in the first part of this story he was ignorant of the political relations of Damascus to Judæa, and that, as regards the miraculous event which happened to Paul, he has handed down three different accounts of it, so little harmonizing one with the other that it is quite evident we have the event second-hand, and not in the words of a contemporary, an eye-witness, or an inspired historian.

1. The first charge against the writer, that he was ignorant of the political relations between Judæa and Damascus, is simple. The chief priests at Jerusalem had no power whatever over persons living at Damascus—that city did not belong to Judæa, any

more than Boulogne to the English ; and we all know what would be the consequence, if an English magistrate were sent with full powers to seize and bring to London the numerous British refugees who have fled to that Gallic sea-port. The priests of the Jews had no power at Damascus : the Roman empire comprised that beautiful city in her extensive territories ; the Roman arms and laws were established there in the time of saint Paul, and the ecclesiastical rulers of the Jews at Jerusalem had no authority at all over the people of Damascus, which was to them a foreign city. We learn indeed from Dr Cave's note, given in D'Oyly and Mant's Family Bible, that

The Jewish Sanhedrim had not only the power of seizing and scourging offenders against their law, within the bounds of their own country, but, by the connivence and favour of the Romans, might send into other countries where there were any synagogues that acknowledged a dependence in religious matters upon the council at Jerusalem, to apprehend them.

But this unsupported assertion is not sufficient : so extraordinary an usurpation by the Jewish priests of authority over a Roman city beyond the frontiers of Judæa, requires the strongest confirmation before it can be accepted as a fact, and writers of the present day have accordingly endeavoured to find in the political circumstances of those times a support for the Scripture narrative. We will quote, in full, the explanation which has been given of this matter by Messrs Conybeare and Howson, the excellent and learned authors of the *Life and Epistles of Saint Paul*.*

There was war between Aretas, who reigned at Petra, the desert metropolis of Stony Arabia, and Herod Antipas, his son-in-law, the tetrarch of Galilee. A misunderstanding concerning the boundaries of the two principalities had been aggravated into an inveterate quarrel by Herod's unfaithfulness to the daughter of the Arabian king, and his shameful attachment to "his brother Philip's wife." The Jews generally sympathised with the cause of Aretas, rejoiced when Herod's army was cut off, and declared

* In two volumes 4to London, 1850, with many beautiful illustrations.

that this disaster was a judgment for the murder of John the Baptist. Herod wrote to Rome and obtained an order for assistance from Vitellius, the governor of Syria. But when Vitellius was on his march through Judæa, from Antioch towards Petra, he suddenly heard of the death of Tiberius (A. D. 37); and the Roman army was withdrawn, before the war was brought to a conclusion. It is evident that the relations of the neighbouring powers must have been for some years in a very unsettled condition along the frontiers of Arabia, Judæa, and Syria; and the falling of a rich border-town like Damascus from the hands of the Romans into those of Aretas would be a natural occurrence of the war. If it could be proved that the city was placed in the power of the Arabian Ethnarch under these particular circumstances, and at the time of Paul's journey, good reason would be assigned for believing it probable that the ends for which he went were assisted by the political relations of Damascus. And it would indeed be a singular coincidence, if his zeal in persecuting the Christians were promoted by the sympathy of the Jews for the fate of John the Baptist.

But there are grave objections to this view of the occupation of Damascus by Aretas. Such a liberty taken by a petty chieftain with the Roman power would have been an act of great audacity; and it is difficult to believe that Vitellius would have closed the campaign, if such a city was in the hand of an enemy. It is more likely that Caligula,—who in many ways contradicted the policy of his predecessor,—who banished Herod Antipas and patronised Herod Agrippa,—assigned the city of Damascus as a free gift to Aretas. This supposition, as well as the former, will perfectly explain the remarkable passage in St Paul's letter, where he distinctly says that it was garrisoned by the Ethnarch of Aretas, at the time of his escape. Many such changes of territorial occupation took place under the emperors, which would have been lost to history, were it not for the information derived from a coin, an inscription, or the incidental remark of a writer who had different ends in view. Any attempt to make this escape from Damascus a fixed point of absolute chronology will be unsuccessful, but, from what has been said, it may fairly be collected, that Saul's journey from Jerusalem to Damascus took place not far from that year which saw the death of Tiberius, and the accession of Caligula.

It would seem hardly needful to make any addition to this extract,—for the writers of the work put forth with much diffidence the two theories, which would equally well explain the political difficulty about the mission of saint Paul to Damascus. But

it is right to point out that both of those explanations are purely conjectural. There is not the slightest allusion in history to the occupation of Damascus by Aretas of Petra: nor is it likely that in a war with Herod, the king of Petra, which lies wholly to the south of Judæa, would have seized on a city, lying to the north of that country, and belonging, not to Herod, but to the Romans. But moreover, even if Damascus had for the moment fallen into the hands of Aretas, it is still very unlikely that this prince would have allowed the quarrel between the Jewish priests and the Christians, to be carried to such lengths. There is no proof that any persecution of the Christians was yet made or likely to be made, in Judæa, when under the tolerant government of the Romans. We may be sure that the judgment of Gallio, who “drave” the parties “from the judgment seat,” is a fair index of what would be thought by other Roman magistrates under similar circumstances—“If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you: but if it be a question of words and names, and of your law, look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters.”

We must then look for another interpretation of saint Paul's mission; and it will be found, not by attempting to substantiate the history to the *letter*, but by reading it in the *spirit* of the writer. The simplicity of the early Christians led them to magnify every incident of their past annals into political importance, but we who have to analyse what they put together, must pursue the opposite process—we must strip from the mission of saint Paul, its public and more showy features, leaving its private and more intrinsic character. That the enmity of the priests was seconded by the zeal of Saul their agent need not be doubted, that he was furnished with letters &c. is also admissible, but not that the mission was supported by the authority to imprison and persecute the Christians, who were as much the subjects of Rome and under the protection of universal tolerance as the priests themselves.

2. In the miraculous particulars with which the conversion of

St Paul is more immediately clothed, there is a variation in the accounts which we should not expect to find in contemporary narratives, but only in writings which had been constructed many years afterwards from tradition. In the 9th chapter of the Acts, where the first account of Paul's vision occurs, it is said that

the men who journeyed with him, stood speechless, *hearing a voice*, but *seeing no man*.

But, in chap. 22, Paul himself says that

they that were with me *saw indeed the light*, and were afraid, but they *heard not the voice* of him that spake to me.

In both of these descriptions, the latter as well as the former, we may suppose that the men kept their footing, but in chap. 26, Paul tells, in another recital which he is making of the events which then happened to him,

And when we were all *fallen* to the earth, I heard a voice &c.

The commentators make a feeble attempt to harmonize these accounts, but it is only by such means as would be wholly rejected in the interpretation of any other human composition, and therefore cannot be readily admitted in interpreting the word of God.—The threefold description of Paul's conversion leads to the conclusion that each description comes from a different document, the author of which had not seen the other two.

6. *Use of the word Christians.*

We learn from Acts 11, 26, that the disciples of Christ were called "Christians first in Antioch." But it is not related at what time this name was first given to them; and it is not probable that it began to be used at the very outset: for our Saviour's proper name was Jesus and not Christ. The latter was a more vague title, only applicable to him whom the Jews in Hebrew would call the Messiah. Some time would elapse before the identification of Jesus as *the Christ* would lead the world at large to give him that name generally, or to call his followers by a name derived from it. The etymology of the word, also, is not in favour

of its early use; for the termination *anus* is not Greek but Latin, and cannot be supposed to have been introduced into Palestine, before the Roman conquest of that country, which was not completed before the siege of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. It is therefore not probable that the disciples were called Christians before that time. This view of the matter is supported by the very rare occurrence of the word in the New Testament—it occurs three times only in that volume; first, in the passage above quoted, secondly in Acts 26, 28, where Agrippa says to Paul, “Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,” and lastly in the 1st epistle of Peter, 4, 16;

Yet if any of you suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed; but let him glorify God on this behalf. 1 Pet. 4, 16.

In the second place where it occurs, an anachronism is involved. For the use of the word Christian grew up too slowly to allow the possibility that Agrippa should have employed it as a well known and recognized term. He seems to have known nothing whatever of the Christian doctrines before he saw Paul, and Festus, who first told him of the “certain man left in bonds by Felix,” seems, if we may judge from *chap.* 25, *vv.* 14.—21, to have known almost as little as Agrippa.

Lastly, the use of the word *Christian* in an epistle written by St Peter, is quite as unlikely, for the same reason, as in king Agrippa's speech to Paul,—with a further reason, that the allusion to “suffering as a Christian” was not wholly appropriate in the days of the apostles themselves, though it was highly appropriate many years afterwards, when the Roman magistrates, like Pliny, were compelled to use force to put down the system of socialism, liberty and equality, which was adopted by the Christians, and would, if unchecked, have infallibly subverted all the existing fabric of society. Let not the inference to which this leads, be misunderstood or misconstrued. No doubt is here expressed that Agrippa, in his speech, and St Peter in his epistles, used some word equivalent to the word Christian; the only doubtful point is

that they used this very word. If 'Christian' be a translation of the word they used, then those writings, in which this word is found, are translations, and not the original works of the apostles to whom they are ascribed.

7. *Seeming anticipation of regular Christian worship.*

The two passages which here follow seem to point to a state of things which did not exist at the time when they were written :

1. In Acts 13, 42—44, the whole city, Gentiles and Jews, come together on the *sabbath*, not once, but regularly. Is not this a picture of a later age, when the Christians had become a large and increasing body ?

2. In Acts 14, 1, "a great multitude both of the Jews and the Greeks believed." Gentiles and Greeks are the same in the language of Scripture. How came there to be a great multitude of Gentiles in the Jewish synagogue ?

8. *Confusion in the name of the disciples and brethren of Christ James, Jadas &c.*

After the ascension of Christ into heaven, we read in Acts 1, 12—14,

12 Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day's journey.

13 And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room, where abode both Peter and James and John, and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James *the son* of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas *the brother* of James.

14 These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the woman, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.

The twelve disciples of Christ are here enumerated as in the gospel according to St Luke, and not in harmony with the lists of Matthew and Mark [*see page 145*] : but our attention is called at present to the remarkable obscurity which hangs over every mention of the brethren and other relations, of Jesus particularly James, whenever they occur in the drama of the gospel history. It will be expedient to bring together every passage, where their

names are mentioned, in the Gospels and Acts, besides that which has just been given from Acts 1, 13.

It will be remembered that there were two of Christ's apostles both named James, two others named Simon, and two named Judas. The two Simons are distinguished as Simon Peter and Simon the Canaanite: the two James's are also sufficiently distinct, one is the brother of John and Zebedee, whilst of the two Judases one is Iscariot the traitor. There remain therefore the second James, and the second Judas; and about these and their relationship to Christ there is so much obscurity that it is impossible to regard the books which leave such a point unsettled, as written by any of the apostles themselves, who would have known the subject so thoroughly, and would not, one would think, leave so interesting a point involved in the obscurity which now lies over it.

The first mention of James and Judas, which we may here notice, is that which occurs in the lists of the twelve apostles, in all of which James is termed, *son* of Alpheus, the word *son*, not occurring in the Greek, but being supplied by the translators, as is rightly done in such cases. But, whereas Judas occurs only in St Luke's list, and in that of the Acts given in page 145, in both of which he is styled 'of James,' to which our translators have arbitrarily prefixed 'brother'; in Mark he is called Thaddæus, and in Matthew Lebbæus, to which some copyists have unwarrantably interpolated 'whose surname was Thaddæus.' [See p. 147 of this work] Whatever be the cause of this discrepancy concerning the name of the twelfth disciple; we may proceed to observe that both James and Judas appear to have been brothers of Jesus Christ, if we may believe the accounts of two of the evangelists, where is related Christ's hostile reception among his own countrymen.

MATT. 13, 55—56.

MARK. 6, 3.

LUKE 4, 22.

JOHN 6, 42.

Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren, James and Joses, and of Juda, and Simon, and Judas? 56 And his sisters here with us? Whence then hath this MAN all these things?	Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary son? Is not this Joseph's son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?
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Whether they were sons of Joseph singly, of Mary singly, or of both Joseph and Mary, we are not told, nor need we stop to enquire; for though it may be important to the speculative theologian to maintain the immaculate character of Mary, and her freedom from all the (supposed) stains which the functions of womanhood and motherhood might make her liable to, yet those who look only to the facts will leave such useless questions unanswered, and endeavour only to ascertain who these four were, who are here said to have been brothers of our Lord, and whether they were or were not the same persons, of whom two figure also in the lists of the twelve apostles. If James was the son of Alpheus, so also were Joses, Judas or Juda, and Simon. But another comparison of texts from Matthew, Mark, and John, show that the mother of James and Joses was another Mary, sister of Christ's mother, and not Mary the virgin herself.

MATT. 27, 56.

Among which was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James and Joses and the mother of Zebedee's children.

MARK 15, 40.

Among whom was Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the Less and of Joses, and Salome.

JOHN 19, 25.

His mother and his mother's sister Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.

The difficulties which here beset one are most perplexing. Two sisters are both named Mary, and the four sons are at one time attributed to the one of these, at another time to the other. Commentators endeavour to remove this difficulty by rendering the word *ἀδελφοί* *cousins* and not *brethren*—"And his cousins, James, and Joses, and Simon and Judas [MATT. 13, 55]." But this interpretation will not stand: *ἀδελφος* is not used in this manner to denote either brother or cousin; at least not so specifically as in the present passage; where also the word *ἀδελφαί*, 'sisters,' immediately follows: the obvious interpretation of the words is *brothers* and *sisters*; and we are not justified in adopting a more remote meaning of a word, because its obvious interpretation would lead us into a difficulty of another kind.

The same James—the Less, as the commentators tell us—is named in several other passages which are here subjoined, and in

one of them, as the reader will notice, he is called by St Paul the brother of our Lord.

Acts 12, 2. And he [Herod] killed James the brother of John with the sword.

Acts 12, 17. And he [Peter] said, Go, shew these things unto James, and to the brethren.

Acts 15, 13. And James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me.

Acts 21, 18. And the day following Paul went in with us unto James : and all the elders were present.

1 Cor. 15, 7. After that, he [Christ] was seen of James ; then of all the apostles.

Gal. 1, 19. But other of the apostles saw I none save James the Lord's brother.

Gal. 2, 9—42. And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, &c . . . For before that certain came from James, he [Peter] did eat with the Gentiles.

We proceed to notice a similar confusion attendant on the name of Judas.

In Acts 1, 23, we have "Joseph called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus," who was put forward with Matthias as competitors for the apostleship. But in 15, 22, we find also that Judas who was sent with Paul and Silas to Antioch on the subject of circumcision, was surnamed Barsabas, and though it is next to impossible that the two persons were each surnamed Barsabas, the editors of the Family Bible have notwithstanding endeavoured to distinguish them.

NOTE IN THE FAM. BIB. TO ACTS 15, 22. "*Judas surnamed Barsabas*] Not the Barsabas mentioned at chap. 1, 23 ; for his name was Joseph. Some think it is his brother. It appears from ver. 32, that this Judas Barsabas was a prophet.

But it must be observed that Barsabas is not a name but a surname, given on account of some peculiarity in the individual, and it is hardly likely that two persons in the immediate circle of the apostles should have had the same peculiarity and been called by the same surname, cognomen, or, as we say vulgarly, 'nickname.'

In the note to chap. 1, 23, of the same Family Bible we read : *Joseph called Barsabas*] Probably he who is called Joses (Mark 6, 3; 15, 40), the brother of St James the Less; the rather to be so supposed, because he is surnamed Justus, as St James was. *Dr Lightfoot.*

That we may properly use conjecture in supplying what is obscure in history, cannot be doubted; but the conjecture in this case renders the original difficulty more obscure than ever. The original difficulty is this.

Joseph surnamed Barsabas, also surnamed Justus.

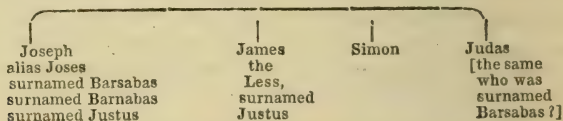
Judas surnamed Barsabas.

Were these the same person? The first view of the case suggests that they *were*, and that in one of the two instances an error has been made by the writer or by a copyist in substituting Judas for Joseph, or the reverse. This probability is much increased from the circumstance that one of the names occurs in the former part of the Acts, where Saul's history is given without the explanation that Saul and Paul were the same person, the other is found only in the latter position of the Acts where Paul's history is the principal subject. We have remarked above that these two divisions of the Acts seem to have been derived from two different originals. But the commentator, Dr Lightfoot, multiplies the difficulty most fearfully. According to his explanation we have the following brothers and both of them surnamed Justus.

Joseph, alias Joses, surnamed Barsabas, and

James the Less.

If to this we add from Luke 6, 16, that Judas also was brother of James [see p. 145 of this volume], and from Acts 4, 36 that Joses was surnamed Barsabas, and we shall find the most extraordinary combination of difficulties that ever beset a genealogical table. The genealogy will stand thus :



It is manifest that we shall get no good by introducing James

the Less and the genealogy which accompanies him. A more simple solution may be found, as above stated, by supposing that Judas Barsabas and Joseph Barsabas were the same person, but that whether his real name was Joseph or Judas, seeing that it has been variously given in the only two places where it occurs, it is now impossible, and happily unimportant, to determine.

To conclude ; it results from the above genealogy and the notes of the commentators, that Joses Barsabas was the same as the famous Barnabas the fellow-traveller of St Paul ; he is first named at Acts 4, 36 ; and again at 9, 27, and 15, 22, where he is thrown into connection with his own brother Judas also surnamed Barsabas, without our being told that there was any relationship between them. It is manifest that no reliance whatever can be placed on the accuracy of a history in which we meet with such irreconcilable statements.

In connection with this subject, the uncertainty which hangs over the names of some of the actors in the gospel history, we may briefly name a remarkable error which has crept into our New Testaments, respecting the names Cephas and Peter, though it occurs not in the Acts, but in St Paul's epistle to the Galatians, *ch.* 2, *vv.* 7—11 :

But contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the circumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter, 8 (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles ;) 9 And when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship ; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision. 10 Only they would that we should remember the poor ; the same which I also was forward to do. 11 But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. 12 For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles : but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. 13 And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him ; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation,

It has always been a stumbling-block to the commentators that

Paul should have withstood Peter to the face ; and it has also hitherto remained unexplained how Peter could be said to preach the gospel of the *circumcision*, that is, to the Jews only ; for it is notorious that a vision was granted to St Peter expressly for the purpose of shewing that the wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles was broken down. The words “when Peter was come to Antioch &c.” are quoted by Eusebius, in Book 1, chap. 12, of his Ecclesiastical History, but, strange to say, Eusebius reads “*Cephas*” not Peter “was come to Antioch.” His words here follow :

‘*Ἡ δ’ ἱστορία παρὰ Κλήμεντι κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Κηφᾶν, περὶ οὗ φησὶν ὁ Παῦλος, “Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθε Κηφᾶς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην,” ἕνα φησὶ γεγονέναι τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα μαθητῶν, ὁμώνυμον Πέτρῳ τυγχάνοντα τῷ ἀποστόλῳ.* Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 1, 12.

The story is found in Clement in the fifth of the Hypotyposes, in which he says also that Cephas, of whom St Paul speaks, “when Cephas was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face,” was one of the seventy disciples, and had the same name as Peter the apostle.

We learn from the History of the apostles by Dorotheus, the same fact, that one of the *seventy* disciples, not one of the *twelve*, was Cephas, who was bishop of Cannia, and that it was he whom St Paul withstood to the face at Antioch. A strong suspicion arises that Cephas and Peter were wholly different persons, who were confounded together when the books of the New Testament were compiled. If this be so, the natural inference is that facts had become faint by time, that the original witnesses had been removed from the world, and many other sources of error had arisen, when the existing histories of Christ and of his religion were put into the shape in which they now appear.

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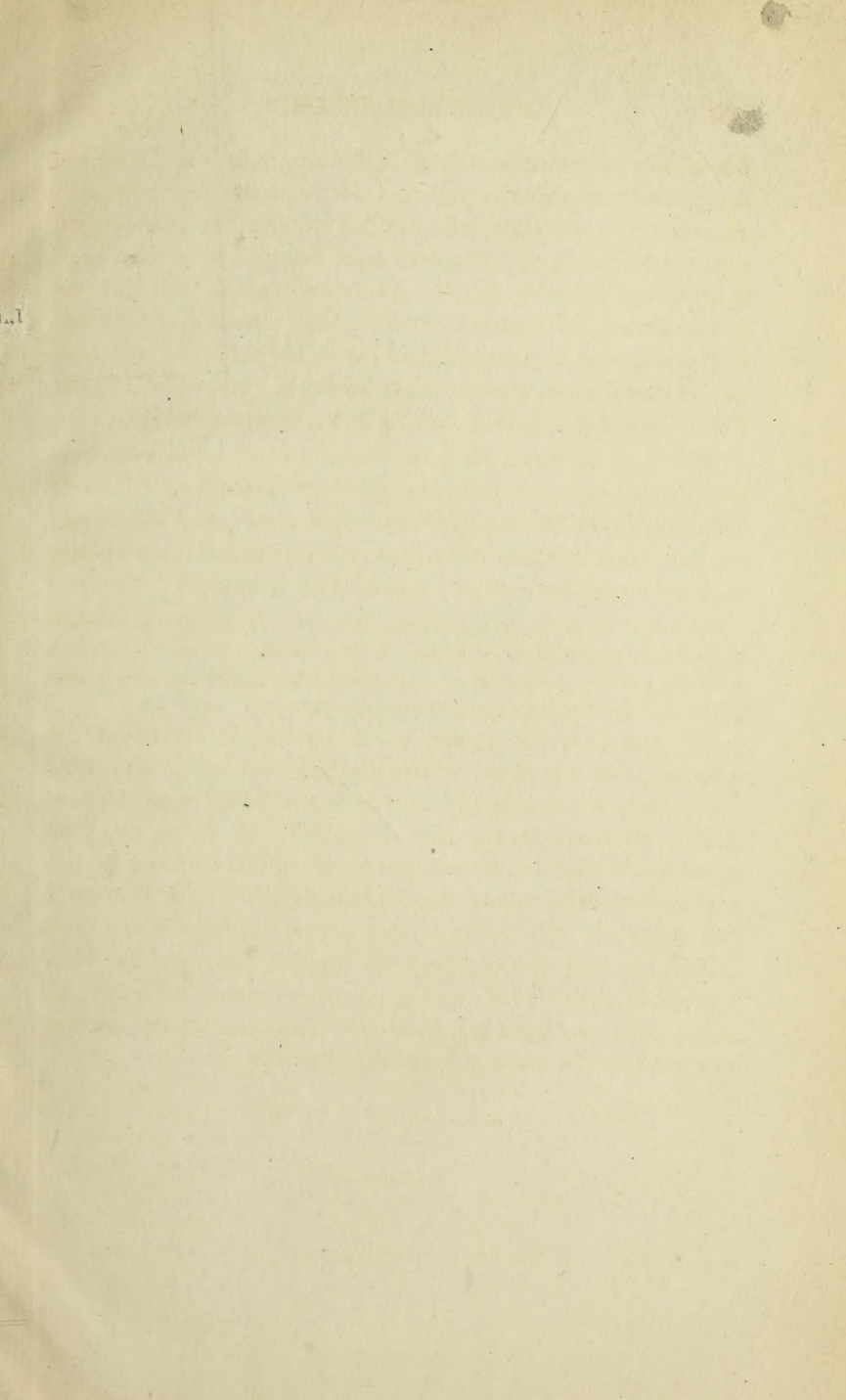
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